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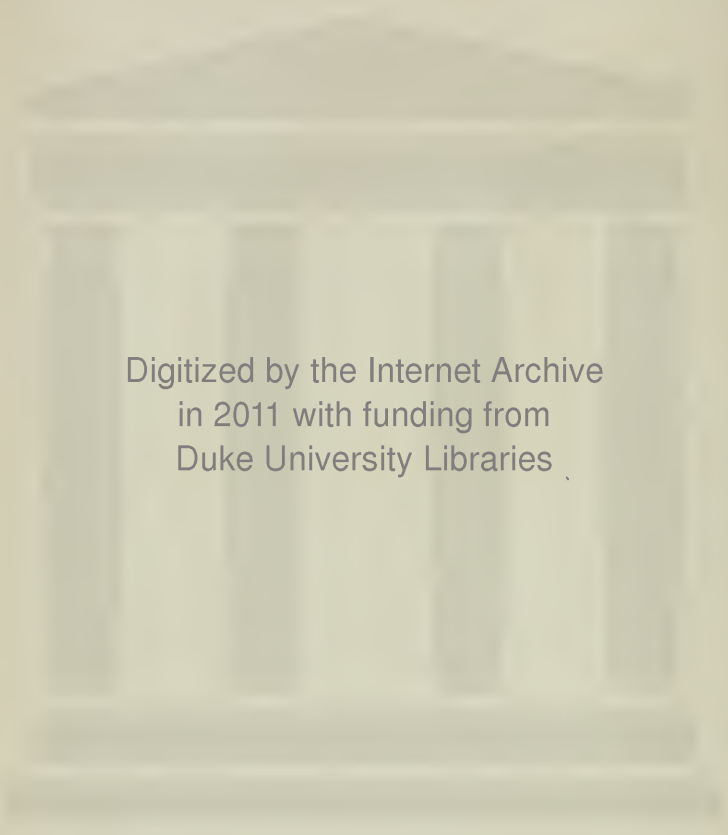
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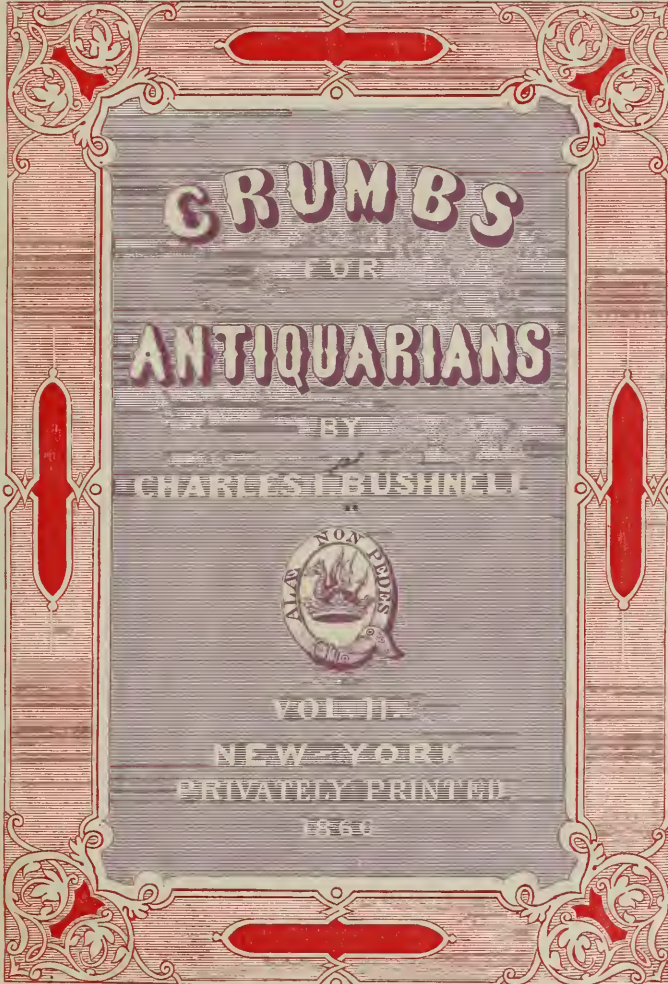


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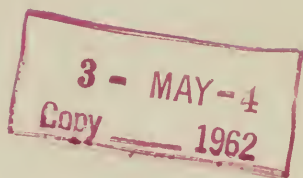
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TO

MY ANTIQUARIAN FRIENDS,

AND TO

STUDENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY GENERALLY

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED.

T 6/10/32

C O N T E N T S .



- ✓ 1. The Narrative of Major ABRAHAM LEGGETT, of the Army of the Revolution.
- ✓ 2. The Narrative of the Exertions and Sufferings of Lieutenant JAMES MOODY, in the cause of Government, since the year 1776.
- ✓ 3. The Narrative of JOHN BLATCHFORD, detailing his sufferings in the Revolutionary war, while a prisoner with the British.
- ✓ 4. The Narrative of EBENEZER FLETCHER, a soldier of the Revolution.

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TO VOL. II.

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MAJ. ABRAHAM LEGGETT.



✓

THE
NARRATIVE
OF
MAJOR ABRAHAM LEGGETT,
OF THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION,

Now first Printed from the Original Manuscript.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL.



NEW YORK:
PRIVATELY PRINTED.

1865.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1865, by

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New York.

To

ABRAHAM ALSOP LEGGETT,

(Eldest Son of Major Leggett),

This Work,

AS A TOKEN OF ESTEEM AND FRIENDSHIP,

IS

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.



INTRODUCTION.



MAJOR ABRAHAM LEGGETT, the author of the following narrative, was the son of John Leggett, by his wife Sarah, and was born in the town of West Farms, Westchester County, N. Y., on the third day of January, 1755.

When about seven years of age he lost his father, and was placed under the care of his grandfather, William Leggett, with whom he remained until the death of that gentleman, when he was taken under the care of his uncle, Abraham Leggett. He continued with him until he had reached his fourteenth year, when he was apprenticed to Phineas

Hunt, and subsequently to Samuel Van Black, to learn the trade of a blacksmith. His opportunities for education were, therefore, but very limited, his early years being devoted to the toils of a trade, and occasionally to the labors of a farm.

When the troubles with the mother country assumed the proportions of civil war, our author took a decided and active part in support of the rights of the colonists, rendering to his country some important services, and distinguishing himself in the contest by his courage and patriotism. He was engaged in the battle of Brooklyn, where he behaved with gallantry, and he took an important part in covering the retreat of the American army from Long Island, being one of the last to leave the shore.

He was afterwards engaged in the action at Harlem Heights, and in the battle of White Plains. Subsequently he was ordered to Fort Montgomery, on the Hudson, and when that post, after a stout and bloody resistance, fell into the hands of the British, he became a prisoner of war, and was confined in the Old City Hall in Wall-street, and

.

afterwards in the Old Provost in the Park, where he suffered at the hands of the enemy the greatest privation and cruelty.

Our author remained a prisoner until the year 1781, when his liberation was effected by exchange. He subsequently rejoined the army, and was engaged in various skirmishes and expeditions, chiefly in New Jersey and on Long Island. He remained thus engaged until near the termination of the war, discharging his duties with zeal and ability, gaining the respect and esteem of his comrades, and retiring from the service with the character of a fearless soldier, a spotless patriot, and an upright, honest man.

At the termination of the war, he opened a crockery store in Peck Slip, N. Y.; afterwards went to Charleston, S. C.; subsequently moved to Georgia, and then returned to New York. Here he became engaged for a while in the dry goods business as a member of the house of Leggett, Drake & Co., and then went into the blacksmith's business, under a contract with the Government of the United States. He subsequently moved to Illinois, where he

remained for two or three years, returning to New York about the year 1822, after which time he did but little business.

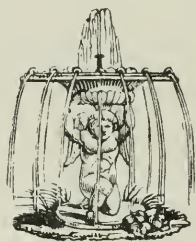
Major Leggett was twice married: first to Rebecca, daughter of John Morgan, of Huntington, L. I. By her he had two children. She died at North Salem, in Westchester County, N. Y., on the twelfth day of June, 1780. His second wife was Catharine Wiley, of New Rochelle, who died in the city of New York on the twenty-ninth day of November, in the year 1839. By this lady he had nine children, among which was William Leggett, so well known as an able writer, and as the editor at one time of the "New York Evening Post," a paper which then held, and still retains, for editorial ability, the foremost rank among the press of our city.

In his personal appearance, our author was about five feet eight inches in stature, and rather stout. His eyes were of a hazel color, and his hair originally dark. He had a fine, full, open countenance, kind and benevolent in expression. In his bearing, he was dignified but cordial, and his manners were

affable and pleasing. In his religious belief, he was a Presbyterian, and, for the last few years of his life, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. He was an original member of the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati, having been admitted at its organization, and in the year 1838 was elected its Vice-President, which office he held at the time of his death. He died, after a short illness, at the residence of his son, Abraham A. Leggett, in the city of New York, on the sixteenth day of January, 1842, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. His remains, followed by a large concourse of sincere mourners, were conveyed to the Presbyterian burying-ground in Houston-street, where they were interred with every mark of honor and respect.

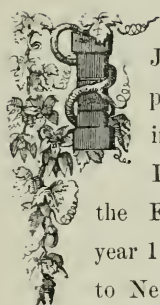
At the request of his children, Major Leggett, in the latter part of his life, commenced writing out a narrative of his revolutionary services. This, however, he did not live to complete. The part which is extant, and which we here present to the reader, though faulty in orthography, the result of his defective education, is nevertheless worthy of pre-

servation. As a narrative of a sufferer in the British prisons in our city, it is not only interesting but valuable, and it is equally so as the record of one who was not only a cotemporary, but a prominent actor in the memorable struggles of the "times that tried men's souls."





NARRATIVE.



WAS born Jan'y 3d, 1755. My farther John, (1) the son of William Joined A Company of Volenteers and march'd for Canaday in the year 1759—they Proceeded as far as Lake George and there he was Taken with the Fever and died within four days, in the year 1762—my mother left West farms and moved to Newtown, Long Island, with four Children—one sister older than myself and Two yonger and a yonger Brother. My Grand Farther Capt. William Leggett had a desire to have me left with him. I at this Time was about Seven years of age—my Grand Farther

died in 1764 or 65—I then Remaned with my uncle Abraham till I was 14 years old. I was then Put apprentice To Phenas Hunt, Blacksmith—there I had but a Poor opertunity to Get the Trade for I was Put to the Farming more than Shop. I grew dissatsifide and aplyde to my Gardian my uncle A, that I had no Prospect for larning the Trade being kept mostly on the farm. In July my Indenture was Given up after Serving him three years for my vittels and a Very scant Supply of Clothes : In August I Came to New York and Put myself apprentice to Sam'l Van Black, Black Smith—this was in the year 1772. I was then at the Jany following 18, and agreed to stay with him four years, but in '75 the Troubles with England commenced, and nothing to be done, and I had an oppertunity to Get in Public service. I agreed to Go on to Pokipsey and do work on the Two Frigates (2) that was to be Built there by order of the Continal Congress then sitting In Philadelphia on the first of Febru'ry 1776 several that was Engaged and walk'd to Pokipsey 83 miles—there I was Engadg'd Till the first July. I then with several others Formed ourselves in a company under the command of Barnardus Swartout (3) all Vollenteers—the Times began to appear Very Interesting—the British Fleet and large army was at Statten Island (4)—we march'd off In High Spirrits Till we

Got to the Calder-barrack near the Croton River—there we Staid but three Days for Derection—we then had news that English army was Preparing to land on Long Island (₄)—that they Easy affected under The Protection of Shipping—our army was at this Time on Brooklin Hights* fortifying as fast as they Could—the Enemy advanced upon Part of our army under the com'd of Lord Sterling (₆) and General Sullivan (₇)—they Faught on the Retreat to flat Bush Hills. (₈) There the battle became Very Hot but the Enemy was too Powerful—they extended there write wing so as to Cut off the Retreat of our detachment from the main army which they succeeded in and they kill'd and Captured many, amongst them was several officers and the Two Gen'ls—many was Drowned in the mill Pond. (₉) This took Place 28th august 1776 (₁₀)—the next day the 29, Capt. Swartout crowsed with us to the Island and we was Placed on the Left from the Hill call'd Fort Green (₁₁) to Wallabout—the Two armies close in View of Each other, and for three Days the Rain fell in Torrents so that we could not Cook—then was the first Time I was Brought to Eat Raw Pork—the last night we was on the Island myself and Several of Volunteers was Put on advanced Centres with speshel orders How to behave Should we discover

* A battery of eight guns was constructed here.

the Enemy advancing—the night was Foggy & Very Dark. Some Circumstance made all the Centres Return on the lines but myself—my Remaning at my Station was Imputed to Bravery. Early in the morning yet Very Dark we was Paraded under the Report that we was to attack the Enemy in there lines we was Led around we new not where till I Saw the old Stone Church of Brooklin (¹²)—then an officer Riding by Says, a Groce mistake—we was orded to wheel about and Reman the lines, wich we did—a dangerous attempt—there we Remaned Till Some Time after—we then formed the Rear Gard we was orderd forward, Still expected to meet the Enemy Till we found ourselves at the Ferry and the army all cross'd (¹³) But the Gard then under the Command of Gen'l Mifflin (¹⁴)—we then was order'd to Choak up the Street with waggons and Carts to Prevent the Light Horse from Rushing Down upon us—at this time no boats—I Prepar'd myself to Swim the River flood tide But Fortunately Two Battoes Struck the Shore—by this Time there was but a Few of us left—we all Hurred on Board and Shoved off—the Enemy Rush'd Down on the Hill and Commenced a Brisk fire. Fortunately no one was Hurt in our Boat—the other Boat had four wounded—we Remaned in the Town Two days then our Capt. march'd us up the Island to near King's Bridge—after our army had all



THE OLD DUTCH CHURCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Cross'd the Enemy was Preparing for Further operations. Two Frigates came threw the Buttermilk Channel ⁽¹⁵⁾ and came to anchor off Turkel & Kips Bay to cover the landing of there army from Long Island—at this Time our Troops was Retreating up York Island—the Enemy advancing till Harlem Hills—there our Troops Gave Battle ⁽¹⁶⁾—the Battle was Severe for a Time. I was at the Morris House ⁽¹⁷⁾ when Major Henley ⁽¹⁸⁾ was brought In mortally wounded who Soon Expir'd—we Repulsed the Enemy and kept the Ground for a time—it was soon found that the Enemy was Preparing there Flotilla for the Sound—Gen. Swartout was orded to move off the Island and Take Post on Tippetts neck on the East Side of Spitendevil ⁽¹⁹⁾—at this Time I Got liberty to Visit West farms—when I Got there I saw the whole River from Hellgate to Flushing Bay Cover'd with Crafts Full of Troops, and my unkels Family moving off—at this Place Colonel Hand with his Rifle Reg't was station'd—as soon as I Got Back to the Company I was order'd with a small Escort to Procure Teams to move off our Stores and Baggage—the next day we arrived at the white Plains—the British Landed and was In new Rochelle—they moved on to near the Plains when Gen'l McDugal ⁽²⁰⁾ engaged them at Chatterton Hill ⁽²¹⁾ and there He kept the Ground—the Battle was Severe ⁽²²⁾—

the next day Capt. Van Vike of Fish Kill with a small Party Took the Road towards marroneck and fell in with a Party of English Horse and Exchang'd firing when our Capt. Rec'd a ball in the Head by the hat Band—they was too many for us, but we bore off our Capt. and Hid him in the Thicket and the next morning we went down and Bro't him off and Buried him—at this time the English army was Filing off to the left To the attack of Fort Washington (23) and our army moved to wright towards Peaks Kill the Chief of whom was order'd to Cross the River—by this Time fort Washington was Closely Invested—while the main Part of Enemy was Crossing the north River Washington thought Best to abandon Fort Lee, (24) as Fort Washington was Surrender'd (25)—at this Time the weather was Getting Very Cool. Gen'l Swartout Brigade was Posted on the South Side of the First mountain north of Peaks Kill. In December we had Very Cold weather and Severe Snow Storms—all this Time we was In Tents—we had to build Chinnies with Sods and Stone at one End of Tents—about the first Jan'y we was discharged. On my Discharge I was Presented with a Commision In the Standing Army. I was A Good deal Surprized at it for I was Very little known and unsolited for. I was so Strong a Patriot that I Very Readily accepted and was orderd To

Join Col'l Lewis Debois Regiment and Take his orders—I did and was Sent on the Recruiting Service. I was kept on that Service for some time—I Took my First Station at Bedford, Westchester County and made my Home at Elijah Hunter's that winter and as uncle Leggett then was at Poundridge with his family I went there Part of the Time. In the Spring I Took my Station at and near Upper Salem. I made my Home at Isaac Nortons and in that and Spring of 1777 I Enlisted 45 Good men for army most of them for During the war—as I had been more successfull than many others I kept on that Duty—in May I obtain'd a Flag on my own a/c and Several others to Cross the Sound to Huntington, to fetch off some Familys and in the Company Two yong Ladys, a Miss Smith who was under Engage-ment to Joseph Titus and R. Morgan (²⁶) who was also under Promise to myself. While we lay at Huntington Harbour the Famous Creditable Expedition of Governor Tryon (²⁷) from New York landed at Compo between norwalk and Fairfield, march'd up Through the Country to Danbury where was a large Quantity of Provisions and Stores and Destroy'd the whole and the Town and on there way back they Burnt Richfield and Norwalk (²⁸)—as soon as they Had accomplish'd that Enterprize they suffered us to depart—on our arrival at Norwalk we was astonish'd to

Behold the destruction and on arriving at Ridgfield we beheld Several of the wounded and Dying—one man had a ball threw his head and was Still alive—at Every breath the blood would blubber up Tho' he had been wounded before. I Remaned a few Days at Salem and 29th may was Married. In a few days I had to Join the Regiment at Fort montgomery (²⁹) in the Highlands—there I Remaned till 4th Oct'r at night I was order'd with Gard and Boat down to Verplanks Point (³⁰) to Recornoiter and observe the Conduct and movements of a British Frigate that had Got there. I Reman'd there all night with muffled oars—all was Quiet—at day I Return'd as orded and Reported—on 5th In the Evening Col'l Bruen was Sent down to the mountain first above Stoney Point—this was in Consequence of the Information of a large Force arrived there—they Tarried there Till morning—saw no movements and Return'd To Fort but as it seemed when our Gard left the mountain the Enemy ascended for the Col'l and his Gard had not Got there Breakfast before we had news the Enemy was ascending the mountain—a strong Party was orded To meet them—we met them in the hills and Bushes Two miles from the fort. Part had Got up the mountain and a part had Gone Round to attack the other part of Fort—we Fought them on a Retreat the Two miles till we Enter'd fort Clin-

ton (³¹) on the west Side of Kill—the Two Forts where connected by a Bridge. Part of the force was orded over the bridge to montgomery—by this Time it was Very Dark. A Flag was sent and met by Col'l W. Livingston—there Demand was for a Surrender—the answer was they must Take it. Soon as the answer was Return'd Col. Cambell who Commanded the attack as soon as he was Informed the answer he Gave orders to spare none—they Came on Very Furiously and was Beat back and the Second and third Time when the Chief of line was Silenced all but the Redought I was in Commanded By Left. Col'l Bruen and Major Logan—at This Time we was Closely beset by Col'l Tunbull of Brittish and offered Good Quarters To Surrender and was accepted but the moment we Surrender'd they Crowded in upon us and began to Strip and Pillage what Ever we had on or about us. (³²) I spoke To Tunbull myself Sir you Promist us Good Quarters—your Soldiers are stripping us and leaving us naked—his answer was They have Captur'd the Fort at the Risk of There lives and I Cant Restrane them—we had then to Submit—it was Fortunate For us that Cambell (³³) who was for Putting all to the Sword Fell in the first Repulse—had he Survived I dought if any would have been Spared as We was Informed he was a Very Blood thirsty fellow. They lost In that

Enterprize Five Field officers and near 600 in all killed and a Grate many wounded—we lost But Trifling In killed and the most of Them after Surrender. We kill'd our number—we had not to Exceed from 6 to 700 and the half of them was new Recrutes and Raw millitia—that night on 6th Oct'r we was taking to the Barracks for Confinement—it So happend that I was put in the same Room that I oeen-pide before the attack and my Baggage was safe But it was not long before Some of these Hungry officers Came in the Room and asking Silly Questions Took the liberty to Remove our Trunks out of the Room under the pretence of searching for arms—a Capt. J. Barns of Emmiriek Core whose station was on the lines—when Barnes attempted to Remove the Trunk I claim'd and Told him I was the oldest son of John Leggett who was his Very Intimate Friend—he said he was only Going to search for arms—if he Found none would Return the Trunk but he did not find any I well know, but the next Day I Saw him Dress'd In my Clothes and what I most Regretted was a pair of Small Clothes of the Best make of Alsup & James Hunt Leather Breeches makers⁽³⁴⁾—we was Captur'd on monday Evening 6th Octo'r—after Dark—we was kept in the Barrack Till wednesday in the Forenoon when we was taken from thence and Convaidd Down the north River a little below Peaks

Kill and Put on Board of a Small Transport Ship Call'd the Mertell a Capt. Coats—we was in all about 300 officers and Privits Crowded up In Heaps between Decks being so Crowded that one Half Could not lie Down at the Same Time and So Close we Clould Scarsely Respire—a Grate Call was made For water—after Considerable Delay there was a Tub or Bucket put down but so foul that altho' we was almost Dying for Thirst Could not Drink it—at the same Time at low Tide the water along side was Drinkable—the officer who had the Gard at this Time on Deck was a Capt. or Lt. Robertson a son of Beverly Robertson whose Family then Lived at there Seat a little above Fort montgomery whose young Ladys and the mother the night Before the Fort was Taken Entertaind Gen'l Putnam⁽³⁵⁾ with that Pleasing attention that he forgot what he had been informed off the night before by myself. Had he attended and Sent over the Forces he had in his Power, we should not have been Taken.⁽³⁶⁾ Sir H. Clintons Effective Force at that onset was more than 3000 strong—while we was lying at anchor I formed a Plan of Going on shore. I had Prepared myself with a Rope by making it fast to the stantion and Crawling out feet foremost I Could lower myself in the water and swim for the East Shore I was fully confident I Could Gain the shore, But Col'l Brown and

major Logan sit In to Perswade me from the attempt as it would Cause more severity with the Rest on board—There Treatment was so severe they had some Fear that we would attempt to Rize on the Gard For they Placed Two 4 Pounders at the Hatch and Loaded and Pointed down the Hatchway with a threat if we made the least noize they would Fire Down amongst us—we was kept so Close that Several was near sufficated—on Saturday morning the ship Came too at the Forrage Yard then kept at Bear market (37)—about 10 o'clock we was landed and the officers was seperated from the privits—they was sent To the Sugar House and the officers was Escorted to the main Gard then in the Old City Hall (38) at the Head of Broad st—all this Time we had nothing to Eat, but that night Col'l Wil'm Livingston sent a note to Mr. Simons (39) who kept a Public House at the Corner of nassaw st. By that means we was supply'd for that Time—on Sunday morning we was Escorted From that Prizen to the new Jail (40) Call'd The Provost Gard and at both Removes we was Very Highly Complemented on the way by the loyal subjects with all the hard names they Could think of, such as D——d Rebels and all other Fulsom names they Could think of. We did look Very Bad for the soldiers Stripp'd whatever we had on that was worth Taking off. I saved myself from being

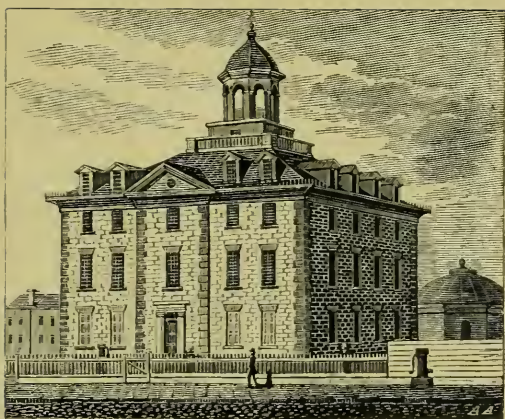


OLD CITY HALL.
WALL ST. N. Y.

Stripp'd for the morning we was orderd out to meet the Enemy I Put on the Poorest Clothes I had not wishing to dirty Good ones. On our way up nassaw st. near Maiden lane I espide my youngest sister Susan⁽⁴¹⁾ standing on Mr. Norwood's⁽⁴²⁾ Stoop—as Soon as she Espide me She dropp'd *—I saw no more of Her—she Could not Get to see me but Sent me some Beding and Provisions that was of Grate Releaf—when we Got to Gard House we was Divided—12 of us was shut in the north Corner Room on the First floor and 13 was Put up on the second floor East Corner Room—after we was Shut in the Keeper Came In and Search'd and Took Everything we had about us not leaving a pen knife and on Wednesday they Threw in through the Hole in the Door Some Raw salt Beef and a little Damaged sea bread—as soon as the bread fell on the floor it Took legs and Ran in all Directions—so full of life—the flower was Very Filthy—more like Hog sty than anything else—This was Ten Days without Drawing Provisions after Taken—the Reason they Gave for their severe Treatment they said we had attempted to set the Barracks on Fire at our leaving them to go on board but the Case was soon Changed after the Capture of Burgoine and His army⁽⁴³⁾ of which we Got news In Prizen before the matter

* She *fainted*.

was known in the Citty Except by Some of Higher officers—the way the news was Convaidd to the Prisen was in a Large Loaf of Bread—the statement on Paper and Placed in a loaf and Baked and was Sent Colonel William Livingston who was Taken with us—as soon as that was Read in the Congress Room, the whole Prizen Resounded with three Cheers (44)—the keeper was alarm'd with Such an uproar as he Call'd it—Hasten'd to the second floor to know what was the uproar—then He was Inform'd—he denide it and Said it was a D——d Rebbel lie—after this was fully known we was offer'd our Porlows as other officers on our Signing a Declaration wich they offer'd that we Did not attempt to leave fire as was against us—we then signed the Parole Bond and was Taken out of Prizen on the first day of Nov'r and Placed at different Houses in and about Bedford three miles from Brooklin—we was only in that Situation one Month for we was Too much In View of the Movements of British—from that we was Scatter'd to Various Parts—as for myself I was Put to Board at New Utrich where nine months and Lived Very well as the Family did—from thence was sent a $\frac{1}{2}$ mile Further to make Room for some British officers. This was at the Time the British army was Retreating From Philadelphia. I was now at Rutgers Van brunt who was the High Sherif—while there I Had a severe



OLD PROVOST,
NEW YORK.

attack of the Billious Fever. I was Confined Ten days—as soon as I was able to go about I was Removed from there to Mr. Abr'm Sniderkers at New Lots on the Jamaca Road about Eight miles from the ferry and was Very Comfortable situated—there I Remain'd till the 28th Day of Febuary when I obtain'd a Parole To Visit my family—the next day the first march Commenced a Very Severe Blustering snow storm and continued three weeks—all that Time I was detain'd—Could not Cross the Sound—at last the weather became moderate and I Cross'd the Sound with Capt. Brewster to Fairfield, Connecticut, and when I arrived at Salem at Esq'r Leggett and there I Found my wife and Child well and Happy to meet again after 18 months absence and the Child Eleven months old who is now the wife of Capt. J. Breath⁽⁴⁵⁾ and the mother of nine Children. While I was a Prizener I Had Very Flattering offers if I would Join the British, or in otherwise would Take Protection and Go into Business in New York—my answer was, I have put my Hand to the Plow and Cant look Back—I shall Stand by my Country--We Remain'd at my unkels Esq'r Leggetts Till the Last april—I then Rented a small Tenement of Cap't Jabes Trusedal at north Salem, and Took an old Smithshop and went to work at my Trade. I Remain'd there Till the next Spring 1778. I then Rented

a small farm of the commissioners of Sequestration and let it out on shares. In June my wife Rebecca was Confined with her second Daughter, Rebecca—the third Day She Expir'd—Then I was left alone with Two Small Children—the oldest but Twenty months. I soon Broke up House keeping and sold what few Goods I Had—my oldest Child Betsey I Took to my aunt Leggett and the Infant I Put to nurse to A Miss Hoxey who nursed with a bottle on Cows milk, and kept her three and a half years Till my second marriage. (46) In the year 1781 I was Exchanged when A General Exchange Took Place by a Resolution of Congress where there more of the Rank than was Requir'd—The Senior officer Had his Choice to Remain or Retire on Half Pay for life and to Receive all the Emollements as if still In the Ranks. In 1782 Major Jesse Brush was Commission'd By Governor Clinton (47) To Go on to Long Iland In a Privite manner and Endeavour to obtain Hard money on Loan For to supply some of the wants of the Troops who was Gratly Suffering for the want of Every thing and our Paper money was nothing. Maj'r Brush Took myself with him—we Remained on the Island about three weeks In a Privit manner. In that Time He arranged with Several Persons for Specie and How to be Convey'd over the Sound. One day while there I spent the Day at Solomon Smiths ; who

Resided on the Shore at the mouth of Smith Town Branch—the old man was a Grate Tory—he was a widower with Three Daughters—fine Girls and Good whigs. I Pass'd myself to the old man as a Butcher From N. York Looking for fat Cattle and Sheep—the old man Had been Plunder'd by Both sides he Told me and was Grately Distress'd and did not know what he Should do for Bread for the family. In The afternoon the old man rode out—the Girls was fearful in the afternoon that they might be Visited by Some of the Refugees from Fort Slongum⁽⁴⁸⁾—Advised me to Retire up stairs Till night for Fear. In the Evning I Join'd our Party in the Bush whare we was supplide with a Good Repast by the Hands of the miss Smiths—and that afternoon arrangements was Enter'd with The Cap't of a Gard Vessel that lay in the Harbour To let us Pass with our Boat as we was only a Privit Party with no Hostile Intentions—he Gave us the Counter Sign and late in the Even'g we Road out of the harbour—by the Time we Got nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ over the East wind Increasing Caused so much sea we found it necessary to Bare away for the long Island shore with our whale Boat, nine of us in her—we landed at a Place four miles East from whare we set out call'd the north Swamp—as soon as we landed the only one In the Company that knew whare to Go was myself. I Took T. Williams⁽⁴⁹⁾

with me to Procure some Provisions about one to the widow Floyds. I had been There before—we was supplide with what we wanted and Return'd to the Boat which Had been Carried up in the Edge of the Bushes and Turned Bottom up for it Came on to Rain and Storm—about 4 o'clock it held up—three of our Party went on the Hill under a Chesnut Tree. While there They was surprized by a Party of Refugee Torys they Then Rose over the hill Close upon the Rest of us. The day before we had Presented to us several of Rivington Royal Gazette—Lient. Ketchum was overlooking one and I was Reading over his sholder when the stunning yell, Surrender yon Dam Rebels and at the Instant fired a Voley down upon us—we all started for the Swamp not more than 5 or 6 Rods. I had not been more than seated in my mud and water Seat than the Cry was Here is the Track of one and another sung out the Same—from the Voice I knew it was mine—the first one Sung out here is one—who is it—maj'r Brush. Dont Hurt him was the Cry. I was Very Glad to hear That for as he was a Very active man I had my fears. By this Time the Persuer on my Track Came in full View of me—at the moment he brought his Gun from his Right Sholder on his left arm the Bayonet fixt my Thought was he then was a going To Sciver me. I determin'd in my mind to Surren-

der at the Instant he Gave another long Stride to another Bog which brought a bush between us—as he made His Step I was Rising up but I Soon Crouch'd again—So they Pass'd off—they then assembled a Round the boat—Some went after a waggon and Horses about a mile to the settlement and Return'd with it, Took the Boat and what Else there was and Drove off. (50) I Remain'd in my Soft seat for I dare not stir for fear some whare left to watch the Swamp—when it Got Quite Dark I Drew myself Softy out of the mud and sneak'd a Cross the Fealds to the House I had been at the night before and with the Soft Tap at the back part of the house window, it was not long before the window open'd—the Girls Saw my Situation—all wet and muddy. Miss Floyd Got her father's Cloths—he was a small man and I Considerable Stouter. I Had Difficulty to Get them on—when done I was Present'd with a flask of Cherry Bounce—the Cordal Came in Good time. Then follow'd other Refreshments—we then sat on the bed side—a yong Lady on Each Side—they then Gave me the account of the Refugees—they was in the Place some time, Press'd waggon and Horses, and with Boisterous behaviour and Threats—from the Girls I first Learnt that Ketchum was Shot—after Talking some time I was furnishd with a Blanket and was waited upon by the Girls to Barn—

when we Came to the door Miss Floyd observed the Barn Door was not fast on the out Side as usual but Concluded some of the Party had been in after Straw—after Talking a while they bid me Good night and fastened the Door on the outside as usual—as soon as they was Gone and I Turn'd myself Round to Get in the Straw I was Surprized to hear footsteps in the Hay—the first Thought that occur'd the Refugees had Got in before me—the Door not fast on the outside strenghtend that Idea—all that I Could do in that dillema was to Show Bold—therefore I hail'd Boldly, who is there—by the answer the Voice I new.* He Replide, “is that you Leggett”—my answer, yes—his Reply, God I am Glad—So there was Two Glad—he being in his wet Clothes I Gave my Blanket and Slepd in The Straw Very Comfortable Till morning—at an Early hour the Faithfull Girls Came with a Very Good Breefast, Coffe, Toost, and Beef Stake, of the best, and Plenty Good soft Peaches. They staid and Chatted Till Time to Prepare For Church about 4 miles at what is Call'd at head of the Branch—at there Return, we was Servd with Dinner—they was so Good as to Spend a Considerable of The afternoon—at Tea Time we was sarved in Stile—In the Coarse of the Day there was dispatched one of the sons To see if Capt. Bruster

* The name of this person was Timothy Williams.

was over—the answer was favorable, So in the Evening we was furnished with Two Horses and a Guide to Conduct us to the Place—we was Rec'd on board and by Day light In the morning we Landed at Black Rock, Fairfield, Glad that we was on Safe Ground—not long before, we heard from the Captives by some of there Friends that went to see them. They Express'd there Joye that I was not with them For on there march to Fort Slongum they met Doct. True whom I had caused to be stop'd the winter before near Bedford—he Drew his Sword and to show them How he would Serv'd me, he Cut and Hack'd the Bushes about him—they said he Had the appearance of Savage, and had I ben There He would have Put his Threats in Execution.

Abm Leggett.





NOTES.



(1) JOHN LEGGETT, the father of our author, was the son of William Leggett, of West Farms. His grandfather, Gabriel Leggett, the first of the name that settled in the State of New York, was born in England in 1635, and came to New York in the year 1661. He settled in that part of Westchester County, now known as West Farms, where he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Richardson, one of the first patentees of the place. She was still living in 1714. Gabriel Leggett's will is dated April 16, 1697. He left three sons—John, William and Gabriel—and one or more daughters. His son William had two sons—Abraham and John—the latter of whom was the father of our author, Major Leggett. The subject of this note was born in West Farms on the 4th day of Jan., 1732. His wife's maiden name was Sarah Alsop. She was the daughter of Thomas Alsop, of Newtown, L. I., who served for some years as a magistrate, and afterwards went into the mercantile business in New York, where

he died in Sept., 1743, in his 56th year. Her mother was Susannah, daughter of Robert Blackwell. Mr. Leggett was married to Miss Alsop on the 5th day of June, 1753. On the death of her husband in 1762, Mrs. Leggett returned to Newtown, her native place, where she subsequently married a Mr. Lawrence, and it is believed that she died in that town.

(2) These frigates were the MONTGOMERY, of 24 guns, *Capt. John Hodge*, and the CONGRESS, of 28 guns, *Capt. Thomas Grennall*. They were built at or near Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson river, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress of December 13, 1775. They never got to sea, as the British held the mouth of the river from August, 1776, to November, 1783. In the year 1777, when Sir Henry Clinton took the forts in the highlands, these two vessels, having been ordered down for the defence of the chain, were burnt by their crews to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

(3) COL. BERNARDUS SWARTWOUT was the son of Bernardus Swartwout, a prominent merchant of New York, and was born on the 26th day of September, 1761. After the Revolution, he went with his father into the brick and lumber business in New York city, in which he continued for many years. He was one of the original members of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, and in the year 1794 was elected its Assistant Treasurer. In the year following, he held the office of Secretary of the same organization. He died at Greenburgh, Westchester County, N. Y., on Friday, October 8th, 1824, in the 69th year of his age. His remains were interred in the graveyard of the Dutch Reformed Church at Sleepy Hollow.

(4) "The British troops landed on Staten Island on the 3d July, 1776. A part of the stock had been taken off. The inhabitants, who were about 350 men, were supposed to be generally opposed to the Revolution."

Heath's Memoirs, p. 48.

(5) "The British commanders, having resolved to make their first attempt on Long Island, landed their troops, estimated at about 24,000 men, at Gravesend Bay, to the right of the Narrows, on the 22d Aug., 1776. The Americans, to the amount of 15,000, under Maj. Gen. Sullivan, were posted on a peninsula between Mill Creek, a little above Red Hook, and an elbow of the East River, called Wallabout Bay. Here they had erected strong fortifications, which were separated from New York by the East River, at a distance of a mile. A line of intrenchments from the Mill Creek enclosed a large space of ground, on which stood the American camp, near the village of Brooklyn. This line was separated by a range of hills, covered with thick woods, which intersect the country from west to east, terminating on the east, near Jamaica."

Holmes' Annals, Vol. 2, p. 245.

(6) WILLIAM ALEXANDER (commonly known as LORD STERLING), was born in the city of New York in the year 1726, and was the son of James Alexander, a Scotchman, who took refuge in America in 1716, after an active espousal, during the previous year, of the cause of the Pretender. His mother was the widow of David Provoost, better known in the city of New York a little more than a century ago, as "Ready Money Provoost." The subject of our sketch received an excellent mathematical education, and obtained some distinction as a man of science. In the French and Indian war

he acted as Aid-de-camp and Secretary to Gen. Shirley, and at the close of the war accompanied him to England. He returned to America in 1761, and soon after married the daughter of Philip Livingston. In March, 1776, he was appointed by Congress a Brigadier-General, and in April following took command at New York. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Brooklyn, but was soon after exchanged, and in February following, was appointed Major-General. He was subsequently in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, and in 1781 was stationed at Albany, to command the Northern army. In the year following he made Philadelphia his head-quarters, and in the Spring he again took command of the northern troops, and located himself at Albany. He died there on the 15th January, 1783, from an attack of the gout, in the 57th year of his age.

(7) MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN was born in Berwick, in the State of Maine, on the 17th day of Feb., 1740. After studying law he established himself in the profession in New Hampshire. Turning his attention to military affairs, he received, in 1772, the commission of Major, and in 1775, that of Brigadier-General. The next year he was sent to Canada, and on the death of Gen. Thomas, succeeded him in command of the army there. In this year he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and was soon after captured by the British in the battle on Long Island. He was subsequently exchanged, and rejoined the army. At the battles of Trenton, Brandywine and Germantown, he commanded a division, and was the sole commander of an expedition to Newport, R. I., which failed through want of coöperation of the French fleet. In 1779 he commanded an expedition against the Indians. He

was afterwards a member of Congress, and was for three years President of New Hampshire. In 1789 he was appointed a judge of the District Court, and continued in that office until his death, which occurred Jan. 23d, 1795.

(8) THE FLATBUSH HILLS—the chain of hills or high ground running across the Island, in a northeasterly direction from New Utrecht on the south, towards Hempstead Bay on the north, forming the boundary line between Brooklyn and New Utrecht—a natural line of defense.

(9) The MILLPOND here mentioned is that of Brower's Mill, the oldest of the eight tide-mills which until within a few years existed in the boundaries of Brooklyn. The pond was formed by damming off the head of Gowanus Kil, or Creek. This mill, in 1661, was held conjointly by Isaac de Forest and Adam Brower, the latter of whom subsequently became its sole owner. It was probably held on a lease, as the land belonged to Jan Evertsen Bout, who in 1667 gave "the corn and meadows, and place whereon the mill is grounded," to the children of Brower. The mill subsequently came into the hands of Freeke, from whence it is often called "Freeke's Mill," also as the "Old Gowanus Mill." There is a good representation of it in "Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution," vol. 2, p. 810.

(10) The battle of Brooklyn took place on the 28th day of August, 1776, and resulted in the complete victory of the British. The total loss of the Americans was estimated at more than 3,000 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. Among the latter were Major-General Sullivan, and Brigadier-

Generals Lord Sterling and Woodhull. Almost the entire regiment of Maryland, consisting of young men of the best families in that province, was cut to pieces. Six pieces of cannon fell into the power of the victors. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable; in killed, wounded and prisoners, it did not amount to 400 men.

For accounts of the battle, see—

Freeman's Journal, Sept. 28. 1776.

Thompson's Hist. Long Island, vol. i., p. 216.

Onderdonk's Suffolk and Kings Counties, p. 132.

Gordon, vol. ii., p. 306.

Holmes' Am. Annals, vol. ii., p. 245.

Samuel Ward's paper, *Knickerbocker Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 281.

Martin's Narrative, p. 17.

(11) FORT PUTNAM, now known as Fort Green, and Washington Square, was a redoubt with five guns, and commanded the East River and the roads approaching Brooklyn from the interior. An intrenchment extended from Fort Putnam north-westerly, down the hill to a spring (in 1852 in a tanning yard, with a pump in it, near the intersection of Portland street and Flushing Avenue). This spring was then on the verge of the Wallabout.

Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, vol. ii., p. 806.

(12) The OLD STONE CHURCH here referred to, was the Dutch Reformed Church, erected about the year 1706, in the middle of the road from the Ferry to Flatbush (now Fulton-street, near the vicinity of the burying-ground, between Hoyt and Smith streets), and was the second church edifice which had stood on that spot. The old church was square in form, and was built of stone. It had high windows, with painted

glass of a grape-vine pattern. It had a sort of hump-backed roof, surmounted by a cupola. It was the "alarm post" of the American forces during the battle of Brooklyn, and until after the Revolution, the only church edifice in the town.

(13) This difficult movement was effected with great skill and judgment, and with complete success. Heaven remarkably favored the fugitive army. A southwest wind springing up at eleven, essentially facilitated its passage from the island to the city; and a thick fog, hanging over Long Island from about two in the morning, concealed its movements from the enemy, who were so near that the sound of their pickaxes and shovels was heard. In about half an hour after, the fog cleared away, and the enemy were seen taking possession of the American lines. Gen. Washington, as far as possible, inspected everything. From the commencement of the action on the morning of the 27th, until the troops were safely across East River, he never closed his eyes, and was almost constantly in the saddle. His wisdom and vigilance, with the interposing favor of Divine Providence, saved the army from destruction.

Holmes' Annals, vol. ii., p. 248.

Gordon, vol. ii., p. 314.

(14) THOMAS MIFFLIN was born in Philadelphia about the year 1744, of parents who were Quakers. He engaged early in opposition to the measures of the British Parliament. In 1772 he was a representative of Philadelphia in the Colonial Assembly. In 1774 he was a member of the First Congress, and in August, 1775, was appointed Quartermaster-General. He was with Gen. Washington at Cambridge, and in the Spring of 1776 was commissioned a Brigadier-General in the

Continental army. He was made Major-General in Feb., 1777, and he continued in service during the war. In 1783 he was a representative in Congress, and in the autumn of that year was appointed its president. In 1787 he was a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, and his name is affixed to that instrument. In October, 1788, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in which station he continued till October, 1790. He was elected the first governor of Pennsylvania, under the provisions of the new Constitution, and held the office for nine years consecutively. By his personal exertions he greatly assisted in quelling the "Whisky Insurrection," in 1794. Gen. Mifflin died at Lancaster, Pa., Jan. 20, 1800, at the age of 56.

(15) BUTTERMILK CHANNEL—the name given to the stream of water between the Red Hook Point and Governor's Island. There is a strong tradition that in early times this stream was fordable, but that this was not the case is clearly disproved by reference to B. Ratzer's Map of New York City, made in 1766, [see *Valentine's Manual*, 1854, at p. 320,] on which a depth was given at that time to the channel of three fathoms of water.

(16) The action at Harlem Plains took place on the 16th September, 1776, and was a very spirited affair, reflecting the highest credit on the part of the Americans. The following account of the action is given by one who was an eye witness and participator in the contest:

"The next day, in the forenoon, the enemy, as we expected, followed us 'hard up,' and were advancing through a level

field: our rangers and some few other light troops, under the command of Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and Major Leitch, of (I believe) Virginia, were in waiting for them. Seeing them advancing, the rangers, &c., concealed themselves in a deep gully overgrown with bushes; upon the western verge of this defile was a post and rail fence, and over that the forementioned field. Our people let the enemy advance until they arrived at the fence, when they arose and poured in a volley upon them. How many of the enemy were killed and wounded could not be known, as the British were always as careful as Indians to conceal their losses. There were, doubtless, some killed, as I myself counted nineteen ball-holes through a single rail of the fence at which the enemy were standing when the action began. The British gave back and our people advanced into the field. The action soon became warm. Colonel Knowlton, a brave man, and commander of the detachment, fell in the early part of the engagement. It was said by those who saw it, that he lost his valuable life by unadvisedly exposing himself singly to the enemy. In my boyhood I had been acquainted with him: he was a brave man and an excellent citizen. Major Leitch fell soon after, and the troops, who were then engaged, were left with no higher commanders than their Captains, but they still kept the enemy retreating.

Our regiment was now ordered into the field, and we arrived on the ground just as the retreating enemy were entering a thick wood, a circumstance as disagreeable to them as it was agreeable to us at that period of the war. We soon came to action with them. The troops engaged, being reinforced by our regiment, kept them still retreating, until they found shelter under the cannon of some of their shipping.

lying in the North river. We remained on the battle-ground till nearly sunset, expecting the enemy to attack us again, but they showed no such inclination that day. The men were very much fatigued and faint, having had nothing to eat for forty-eight hours,—at least the greater part were in this condition, and I among the rest. While standing on the field, after the action had ceased, one of the men near the Lieut. Colonel complained of being hungry; the Colonel, putting his hand into his coat pocket, took out a piece of an ear of Indian corn, burnt as black as a coal, ‘Here,’ said he to the man complaining, ‘eat this and learn to be a soldier.’”

Martin's Narrative, p. 32.

See accounts of this engagement also in

Lossing's Field Book, vol. ii., p. 818.

Graydon's Memoirs, p. 199.

Holmes' Annals, vol. ii., p. 249.

(17) The “MORRIS HOUSE,” which is still standing, is located on the bank of the Harlem river, at what is now 169th-street, a little below the High Bridge of the Croton Aqueduct. It was an elegant mansion, and was, at the commencement of the Revolution, the residence of Col. Roger Morris. He, siding with the King, fled to the residence of Beverly Robinson in the highlands, and his house became the headquarters of Washington. The house and lands adjoining, after the war, became the property of Madame Eliza B. Jumel, subsequently the widow of Aaron Burr. Here she lived many years, and here she died. Sunday morning, July 16, 1865, in her 92d year.

(18) MAJOR THOMAS HENLY was a native of Charlestown, Mass. He was the Aid-de-camp to Gen. Heath. He volun-

teered to join the party under Lieut.-Col. Jackson, who, on the 22d September, 1776, with 240 men, in three flat-boats, made a descent on Montresor's, now Randall's Island, of which the British had taken possession. The troops in one boat only, effected a landing, and these were driven back with the loss of fourteen men killed, wounded and missing. Henly behaved with great courage, but was shot just as he was entering the boat, and instantly expired. He was buried below a hill where a redoubt had been thrown up in the road. Here Col. Knowlton, who had been killed at the engagement at Harlem Plains, was buried, and Major Henly was laid by his side.

(19) SPYT DEN DYVEL CREEK, with the Harlem river, of which it is a part, forms Manhattan Island, on which the city of New York is built. It is about thirteen miles above New York, and flows into the Hudson. It is here that Irving laid the death of Antony Van Corlaer, the trumpeter of the elivalrous Governor Stuyvesant. It is therefore a classic spot to the lovers of mirth.

(20) MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER M'DOUGALL was the son of a Scotchman who sold milk in the city of New York, and the son, when a boy, assisted the father in the business. The subject of our sketch took an early stand on the side of the colonists, and when the war broke out he joined the army. In August, 1776, he was appointed a Brigadier-General, and in the month of October of the year following, he was commissioned as Major-General. He commanded the Americans in the action at White Plains in 1776, and was in the battle at Germantown in the autumn of 1777. In 1781 he wa

elected a delegate to Congress, and subsequently was chosen a member of the New York State Senate. He died in the month of June, 1786.

(21) CHATTERTON HILL lies on the northeast corner of the town of Greenburgh, in Westchester County. The Chatterton family, from whom the hill derives its name, have been long residents of Greenburgh. A member of this family was settled on the hill as early as 1731. It was upon this hill that the chief part of the battle of White Plains was fought.

(22) The battle of White Plains was fought on the 28th October, 1776. The Americans were commanded by Gen. McDougall, and the British by Gen. Leslie. The action was but partial, and was undecided. The loss on both sides was about equal. Among the persons wounded on the side of the British, was Lieutenant-Col. Musgrave, commanding the light infantry; among the killed was Lieutenant-Col. Cars, of the 35th, and Capt. Evelyn, of the 4th regiment. Among the wounded on the side of the Americans, was Col. Smallwood. "While the engagement was going on," says Ramsay, "the baggage of the Americans was moved off in full view of the British army. Soon after this, Washington changed his front; his left wing stood fast, and his right fell back to some hills. In this position, which was an admirable one in a military point of view, he both desired and expected an action; but Gen. Howe declined it, and drew off his forces towards Dobb's Ferry. The Americans afterwards retired to North Castle."

Ramsay's Am. Rev., vol. i., p. 314.

The following account is given by one who participated in the engagement :

“ When we arrived at the camp, the troops were all parading. Upon inquiry, we found that the British were advancing upon us. We flung our turnip plunder into the tent—packed up our things, which was easily done, for we had but a trifle to pack, and fell into the ranks. Before we were ready to march, the battle had begun. Our regiment then marched off, crossed a considerable stream of water which crosses the plain, and formed behind a stone wall in company with several other regiments, and waited the approach of the enemy. They were not far distant; at least, that part of them with which we were quickly after engaged. They were constructing a sort of bridge to convey their artillery, &c., across the before mentioned stream. They however soon made their appearance in our neighbourhood. There was in our front, about ten rods distant, an orchard of apple trees. The ground on which the orchard stood was lower than the ground that we occupied, but was level from our post to the verge of the orchard, when it fell off so abruptly that we could not see the lower parts of the trees. A party of Hessian troops, and some English, soon took possession of this ground; they would advance so far as just to show themselves above the rising ground, fire, and fall back, and reload their muskets. Our chance upon them was, as soon as they showed themselves above the level ground, or when they fired, to aim at the flashes of their guns—their position was as advantageous to them as a breast work. We were engaged in this manner for some time, when finding ourselves flanked and in danger of being surrounded, we were compelled to make a hasty retreat from the stone wall. We

lost comparatively speaking, very few at the fence; but when forced to retreat, we lost, in killed and wounded, a considerable number. One man who belonged to our company, when we marched from the parade, said, 'Now, I am going out to the field to be killed;' and he said more than once afterwards, that he should be killed; and he was—he was shot dead on the field. I never saw a man so prepossessed with the idea of any mishap as he was. We fell back a little distance and made a stand; detached parties engaging in almost every direction. We did not come in contact with the enemy again that day, and just at night we fell back to our encampment. In the course of the afternoon the British took possession of a hill on the right of our encampment, which had in the early part of the day been occupied by some of the New York troops. This hill overlooked the one upon which we were, and was not more than half or three-fourths of a mile distant. The enemy had several pieces of field artillery upon this hill, and, as might be expected, entertained us with their music all the evening. We entrenched ourselves where we now lay, expecting another attack. But the British were very civil, and indeed they generally were, after they had received a check from Brother Jonathan, for any of their rude actions; they seldom repeated them, at least, not till the affair that caused the reprimand, had ceased in some measure to be remembered."

Martin's Narrative, p. 40-41.

See also accounts of the battle in

Gordon's Am. War, vol. ii., p. 339-343.

Holmes' Am. Annals, vol. ii., p. 250.

Pennsylvania Evening Post, Nov. 14, 1776.

(23) FORT WASHINGTON was situated on the east side of the Hudson, about ten miles from the city of New York, and its

remains are still to be seen. The fort consisted of a strong earth-work, covering with its revelins, several acres, and mounting twenty heavy guns, besides sundry smaller pieces, and mortars. On the promontory beneath it (Jeffrey's Hook), where the telegraph mast now stands, was a redoubt, intended to act as a covering defence to chevaux-de-frise, which there crossed the channel to Fort Lee, on the opposite side of the river. A short distance northward of Fort Washington, between 195th and 198th-streets, is the site of a small redoubt of two guns, taken by the British on the morning of the capture of Fort Washington, and afterwards strengthened by them, and named Fort Tryon. Still further north, about two miles above Fort Washington, at 217th-street, stood another two-gun redoubt, called Cock Hill Fort, which was taken by the British at the same time.

(24) FORT LEE was situated on the west side of the Hudson, about ten miles above the city of New York, and nearly opposite Fort Washington. The site of the old fort was upon the bluff above, where commences the Pallisade range. The fort was hastily evacuated by its garrison after the fall of Fort Washington, and most of its artillery, a considerable part of the tents and baggage, and some hundred barrels of flour, were taken, besides six officers and staff, and some ninety-nine privates.

(25) When the American army retreated to White Plains, it was decided to leave a large garrison in Fort Washington, in order to prevent the enemy from ascending the Hudson River. This fort was on a high piece of ground, very difficult of ascent, especially towards the north. The fortifications,

though not sufficient to resist heavy artillery, were believed to be in a condition which would prevent any attempt to carry them by storm. The garrison consisted of some of the best troops in the American army, and the commander, Col. Magaw, was a brave and intelligent officer, in whose courage and skill great confidence was placed. The attack on the fort was made on the 16th November, 1776. Four divisions of the enemy, led by their principal officers, attacked it in four different quarters. The garrison, and particularly the riflemen, under Col. Rawlings, behaved bravely. The Hessians were several times driven back with great loss; but these combined and vigorous attacks were at length successful. The ammunition in the fort being nearly exhausted, and all the outposts driven in, the commander, on being a second time summoned, agreed to capitulate on honorable terms. After the surrender, the garrison, numbering about 2,000 men, were crammed the first night for safe-keeping into a barn on the Morris farm, then the British Head-quarters. The night was warm and the fetid air engendered from so many breathing lungs, became positively insupportable. There was a constant cry for water, which was not withheld; but the pressure prevented many from reaching it, and they had to endure the most agonizing thirst the whole night. Capt. Graydon, of the Pennsylvania line, who was one of the prisoners, informs us in his memoirs, "that he could liken the scene to none other than the 'Black Hole of Calcutta.'" To add to their distress, they had to endure the jeers and taunts of their enemies, without the power of resentment. The next day the prisoners were marched to the city of New York, where they were thrown into prisons and prison-ships, and in those miserable, loathsome dungeons, a large portion of them

died from hunger and disease. Gen. Washington was situated where he could view several parts of the attack, and he exclaimed at the barbarities practiced by the British. It is said that when he beheld his men bayoneted, and in that way killed, while begging for quarter, he could not refrain from tears. The loss of Fort Washington was the severest blow the Americans had then felt, and spread a deep gloom for a while over the American cause.

Graydon's Memoirs, p. 197-210.

Ramsay's Am. Rev., vol. i., p. 395.

Gordon's Am. War, vol. ii., p. 349.

Holmes' Am. Annals, vol. ii., p. 250.

New Hampshire Gazette, Dec. 10, 1776.

(26) REBECCA MORGAN was the daughter of John Morgan, of Huntington, L. I., who was by occupation a farmer. She was born in Huntington on the 7th day of June, 1758. She was married to Major Leggett, at North Salem, Westchester County, N. Y., on the 29th May, 1777. She died June 12th, 1780. She left two daughters, viz.:

1. BETSEY, born April 1, 1778; married to Capt. James Breath, October 16, 1800; died, Feb. 12, 1859.
2. REBECCA, still living, born June 10, 1780; married Ovid Goldsmith, May 12, 1827. Mr. Goldsmith was captain of a vessel, and went whaling. He subsequently left the sea, and became an inspector of lime in Athens, Greene County, N. Y. He died of cholera, on the 18th August, 1832. They had no children.

(27) LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WILLIAM TRYON was bred to the profession of arms. He became Lieutenant and Captain of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, October 15 1751, and on

the 30th September, 1758, was raised to a Captaincy, and to be a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Guards. In 1764 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina, where he arrived October 27th, and on the death of Governor Dobbs in 1765, he succeeded him in command of that colony. He continued to administer the government there until July, 1771. when he was made Governor of New York. He was promoted to a Colonelcy in the army, May 25, 1772; became 3d Major of the Guards, June 8, 1775; Major-General, August 29, 1777; and Colonel of the 7th Regiment, May 25, 1778. His career in America was as notorious as it was odious. On the 21st March, 1780, he resigned the government of New York, and was succeeded by Gen. Robertson. Gen. Tyron returned to England, and on the 20th November, 1782, was appointed Lieutenant-General, and on the 16th August, 1783, Colonel of the 29th Foot. He died at his house, in Upper Grosvenor-street, London, on the 27th January, 1788, and his remains were deposited in the family vault at Twickenham, England.

(2s) The burning of Danbury, Connecticut, took place on the 26th April, 1777. The British force amounted to about 2,000 men, and was under the command of Major-General Tryon. "He embarked at New York, and passing through Long Island Sound, landed at Compo, between Fairfield and Norwalk, whence he advanced through the country, almost undisturbed, to Danbury. On his approach, Col. Huntington, who had occupied the town with 100 militia and continental troops, retired to a neighboring height, where he waited for reenforcements. The British destroyed 18 houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour, 2,000 bushels of grain,

and 1,700 tents. Generals Wooster, Arnold and Silliman, hastily collecting several hundred of the inhabitants, proceeded that night through a heavy rain to Bethel, about eight miles from Danbury. The next morning they divided their troops, and General Wooster, with about 300 men, fell in their rear, while Arnold, with about 500, by a rapid movement, took post in their front at Ridgefield. Wooster coming up with them about eleven in the morning of the 27th, attacked them with great gallantry. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which he was mortally wounded, and his troops were compelled to give way. The enemy proceeded to Ridgefield, where Arnold, who had barricaded the road, warmly disputed the passage; but after a skirmish of nearly an hour, being compelled to give way, he retreated to Saugatuck, about three miles east of Norwalk. The royalists, having remained that night at Ridgefield, set fire to the place, and early next morning resumed their march. Arnold met them again about eleven, and a continued skirmishing was kept up until five in the afternoon, when, on their making a stand at a hill near their ships, the Americans charged them with intrepidity, but were repulsed and broken. The enemy immediately re-embarked for New York. Their killed, wounded and missing amounted to about 170; the loss of the Americans was not admitted to exceed 100." This predatory excursion was shortly after retaliated by Lieutenant-Colonel Return J. Meigs, in the surprise of Sag Harbour, and the destruction of a large amount of property at that place.

Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii., p. 263.

Another writer, in alluding to the destruction of property, etc., by the British at Danbury, says:

"We had an ample opportunity to see the devastation

caused there by the British. The town had been laid in ashes, a number of the inhabitants murdered and cast into their burning houses, because they presumed to defend their persons and property, or to be avenged on a cruel, vindictive, invading enemy. I saw the inhabitants, after the fire was out, endeavouring to find the burnt bones of their relatives amongst the rubbish of their demolished houses. The streets, in many places, were literally flooded by the fat which ran from the piles of barrels of pork burnt by the enemy."

Martin's Narrative, p. 46.

See also

Connecticut Journal, April 30, 1777.

Pennsylvania Journal, May 14, 1777.

Gaîne, May 12 and 19, 1777

Pennsylvania Gazette, May 14, 1777.

Pennsylvania Eve. Post, May 22, 1777.

(29) FORT MONTGOMERY was on the west side of the Hudson River, opposite St. Anthony's Nose. The fort was constructed pursuant to a resolution of Congress of August 18, 1775, and was intended for defence of the river. Huge booms and a powerful iron chain were constructed, and stretched across the river from this point. This chain was about 1,800 feet long, and was composed of links a little over two feet in length, weighing each 140 pounds, and was fixed to huge blocks on each shore and under the cover of batteries on both sides of the river. It was manufactured by Peter Townsend, of Chester, and several links of it are still preserved, and are to be seen at the Head-quarters at Newburgh. The fortifications and obstructions were all made under the direction of Capt. Thomas Machin, a gallant officer of the Revolution, and an engineer of rare skill and genius.

(30) VERPLANCK'S POINT derives its name from Philip Verplanck, who married the only granddaughter and heiress of Stephen Van Cortlandt, who purchased the land from the Indians. Previous to this it had borne the name of Meahagh. The point rises gradually from the river's brink, and terminates in a bold bluff of forty or fifty feet in height. This was the spot where Hendrick Hudson first brought his ship, the Half Moon, to anchor, after leaving the mouth of the Hudson River. A small fortification once existed on the western extremity of the point, and was called Fort Lafayette. Verplanck's Point was at one time the head-quarters of Gen. Washington.

(31) FORT CLINTON stood on the west side of the Hudson, and nearly adjoining Fort Montgomery, the two forts being separated by a creek, over which a bridge had been erected. Fort Clinton was erected pursuant to a resolution of Congress of August 18, 1775, and was intended to defend the river against the approach of any hostile naval force. It stood upon an eminence, and was the principal fort in the Highlands.

(32) Forts Montgomery and Clinton were considered the main defences of the highlands, and were placed under the command of Governor Clinton, and garrisoned with the best troops. Collateral efforts were made to render the river impassable to the enemy's ships. Chevaux-de-frize were sunk, a boom was extended from shore to shore, and armed vessels were stationed in positions where they could act with the most powerful effect. These precautions, added to the natural strength of the forts, determined Sir Henry Clinton, who considered their subjugation indispensable to the success of his

further designs, to employ stratagem, in preference to an open and unequivocal demonstration to possess himself of holds which required little more than vigilance to render them unconquerable. By a succession of deceptive movements, therefore, he impressed General Putnam, who commanded that district, with a belief that his object was Fort Independence, which was situated four or five miles below Fort Montgomery, and on the opposite side of the river. Having drawn the attention of Gen. Putnam to Fort Independence, Sir Henry Clinton debarked the troops intended for the attack on the west side of Stony Point, and marching them into the rear of Fort Montgomery, commenced the assault. Alarmed by the noise of the firing, Gen. Putnam discovered his error, and detached a reinforcement of five hundred men to the garrisons which were in such imminent peril; but, before their arrival, Fort Montgomery was in the possession of the British troops. Governor Clinton adopted every means which skill could devise, or valor execute, to save the posts intrusted to his charge; and, in consequence of the extensiveness of his lines, he was compelled to leave them but imperfectly manned at many points. He defended them with effect, until darkness came on, when the enemy succeeded in making an entrance. The loss of the garrison was stated at 250 men, and that of the British was said to be greater. After the fall of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, Gen. Putnam retired to Fishkill, and waited for such reinforcements as might enable him to resume offensive operations, while the British general (Vaughan) proceeded up the river, and destroyed Continental Village and Esopus. On the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne, however, he made a retrograde movement, and, after reducing Forts Montgomery and Clinton to ashes, returned to New York.

The following articles in regard to this subject, we find published in the papers of the day :

“I have now the pleasure to felicitate you on our taking the forts Montgomery and Clinton by storm. It was effected last night [Oct. 6]. The garrisons in both places consisted of twelve hundred rebels. Of our detachment, we lost Mungo Campbell, Lieutenant Colonel of the 52d, and Major Sill of the 63d. Major Grant, of the New York Volunteers, was killed a little before the attack, which was commanded by Colonel Mungo Campbell. My old acquaintance, George Turnbull, late captain in the Royal American Regiment, was ordered to take the command of Grant's corps. He has acquired great honor, being the first that entered Fort Montgomery, after losing one officer and eight privates. Sir Henry Clinton, who himself narrowly escaped the enemy's grape-shot, in consideration of his very gallant behavior, has appointed him Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the New York Volunteers, in room of the brave Major Grant. The gallant Count Gabroutski, lately arrived from England, has died of his wounds. Amongst the prisoners is Colonel William Allison, of the Drowned Lands, whose son was killed in the fort. This person is a member of the provincial congress for the State (as it is termed) of New York. Also young William Livingston, late of New York, in the profession of the law. A great part of the twelve hundred rebels, who garrisoned the forts Montgomery and Clinton, or were not killed or prisoners, made their escape, as it was very dark when the forts were taken. The forbearance and humanity shown by all the troops to the rebels after they became their conquerors, was astonishing ; and savored of that benign temper which ever characterizes the army of Great Britain.”

Gaine. Oct. 11, 1777.

“NEW YORK, *November 3.*

Saturday, sen' night the Bridge laid over the Clove, between the Forts Montgomery and Clinton, was destroyed; and the Troops, after demolishing the latter, embarked on board the Transports, and arrived here the next evening.”

Gaine, Monday, November 3, 1777.

See also

New York Journal, May 11, 1778.

Ruttenber's Obstructions on the Hudson River, p. 64.

Gordon's American War, vol. ii., p. 555.

Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii., p. 276.

Simms' Hist. Schoharie Co., p. 550.

Eager's Orange Co., pp. 571-579 and 594-6.

Sparks' Washington, vol. v., pp. 471-476.

(33) The following advertisement we take from one of the newspapers of the period :

“PUBLIC AUCTION—

At the Coffee House on Wednesday, will be sold the personal effects of the late Col. Campbell.

On Thursday, at 11 o'Clock at the regimental store in Queen-street, near Beekman-slip, the regimental effects of the late Lieut. Col. Campbell.

All persons who have any regimental demands on the effects of the late Lieut. Col. Campbell, of the 52d regt. are desired forthwith to deliver an account of the same to the quarter master of said regt. that they may be satisfied.”

Gaine, Monday, November 17, 1777.

(34) ALSOP HUNT and JAMES HUNT were leather dressers and glove and breeches manufacturers in the city of New York. They carried on the business under the firm-name of

Alsop & James Hunt. In 1789 and 1790 they were located at No. 212 Queen, now Pearl-street, and in 1791 were at No. 54 Water-street. They seem to have dissolved in the course of this year, as we find Alsop in the year following carrying on the business alone, at No. 212 Queen-street. James and his wife died of the yellow fever about the year 1798. Alsop moved to New Jersey, where he died some years later.

(35) MAJOR-GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM was the son of Capt. Joseph Putnam, and was born in Salem, Mass., on the 7th day of January, 1718. His boyhood was passed in the labors of a farm and in athletic exercises, in the latter of which he seems to have excelled. His biographer, Mr. Cutter, informs us that he was also remarkably successful in climbing trees, robbing nests, and causing sorrow to small birds. In 1739, being then in his 21st year, Putnam moved to Pomfret, Conn., where he subsequently pursued the avocation of a farmer. It is here that he is said to have been engaged in the conflict with a famous she-wolf, and it is to this day an unsettled point which acquired from the contest the greatest celebrity, Putnam or the wolf. His next service was in the old French war, in which he commanded a company of Provincials, and where he did some duty as a scout; but he seems to have been mostly distinguished at this period for his remarkable escapes from death, first by the bullet, then by the tomahawk, and lastly at the stake. By the kindly interposition of Col. Schuyler, who represented him to be "*a useless old man*," Putnam was at length released from imprisonment, and at the conclusion of the war, returned to his farm. Soon after the battle of Lexington, Putnam obtained command of a regiment of Connecticut troops, and in a short time after, by some cute manage-

ment or unaccountable good fortune, was promoted to the rank of a Major-General. We next hear of him at the battle of Bunker's Hill, not as one of the gallant combatants, but as a spectator of that eventful conflict, and the only service he appears to have rendered on that occasion, was in keeping watch over a lot of spades, pick-axes, and other intrenching tools. At the battle of Brooklyn in 1776, he appears as Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, and here, by his neglect to guard the main passes, he allowed the enemy to gain his rear, and the result was the complete defeat of the Continental army, the loss of some 3,000 men killed, wounded and captured, and the subsequent occupation of New York by the enemy. After this, Putnam was placed in command at the Highlands, and here, instead of profiting by his experience at Long Island, he repeated the mistake he made there, and by his neglect, lost those important posts, Forts Montgomery and Clinton, with some 2,000 of the best troops in the army. In consequence of Putnam's incapacity, which now became too evident to be longer concealed, he was at length relieved of command, and ordered to Connecticut on recruiting service, a position much better suited to his abilities. Putnam's last command was at West Point, where he did not long continue, for he was soon after seized with a paralytic affection, which disqualified him for further duty. He took up his residence at Brooklyn, Conn., where he died on the 29th day of May, 1790, when about 72 years of age. Gen. Putnam was a man of strong frame and robust constitution. He was quick in his temper, rough in his manner, and though lamentably ignorant, very conceited and headstrong. Though fitted very well for a farmer, a hunter, or for some subordinate partisan duty, yet he seems to have wanted that coolness, sagacity, and power

of combination so essential in a commanding officer, and so imperatively required in a commander-in-chief. It is not surprising, therefore, that in that capacity, he should have acted only to ensure defeat and disgrace.

(36) Our author is not the only one who has blamed Gen. Putnam for the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and charged him with incapacity. It was a common report among those who were engaged in the defence of those forts, as well as among those who resided in the vicinity of them, that instead of attending to his duties as he should have done, he was intently engaged in a game of chess with a beautiful lady (said to be a daughter of Beverly Robinson, a noted tory), and that when warned of the threatened danger, he absolutely refused to leave the game, and did not do so until all hope of saving those posts had fled.

The following extracts, which we take from a work entitled "The Lives of Thomas, Knowlton, Scammel and Dearborn, by Charles Coffin," published in New York in 1845 [see pages 210-212], will show the opinion entertained of Gen. Putnam by some of the worthies of the Revolution who had the best opportunities of judging of his character :

"John Adams, in a letter to his wife, dated Baltimore, Feb. 21, 1777, says :

"I sincerely wish we could hear more from General Heath. Many persons are extremely dissatisfied with numbers of the general officers of the highest rank. I don't mean the Commander-in-Chief—his character is justly very high—but *Putnam, Spencer, and Heath, are thought by very few to be capable of the high commands they hold. We hear of none of their heroic deeds in arms. I wish they would all resign.*"

About the same time, Robert R. Livingston, then Chancellor of New York, in a letter to Washington, uses the following plain language :

“Your Excellency is not ignorant of the extent of Gen. Putnam’s *capacity* and *diligence*; and how well soever they may qualify him for this important command [the Highlands], the prejudices to which his *imprudent levity to the disaffected, and too great intercourse with the enemy*, have given rise, have greatly injured his influence. How far the loss of Fort Montgomery and the subsequent ravages of the enemy are to be attributed to him, I will not venture to say, as this will necessarily be determined by a Court of Inquiry, whose determination I would not anticipate. Unfortunately for him, *the current of popular opinion in this and the neighboring States, and so far as I can learn, in the troops under his command, runs strongly against him*. For my own part, *I sincerely lament that his patriotism will not suffer him to take that repose to which his age and past services justly entitle him.*”

Governor Clinton also wrote pressingly to Washington requesting the removal of Putnam from the command in the Highlands.

In 1777, Congress appointed Governor Clinton a general officer in the army of the United States, and gave him the command on the North River, because, as President Hancock, in a letter to Clinton, says—“*an active and vigilant officer was required at that post.*” But Clinton’s business as governor was so pressing, that he was compelled to decline the appointment, which continued Putnam in the command till March, 1778. In the latter part of 1777, after the surrender of Burgoyne’s army, Washington was so desirous to be reinforced, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, by troops on the Hudson, under Gates and Putnam, that he sent Hamilton, his aid, to hasten their march, for his letters to them had not had the desired effect. Hamilton did not find either of those Generals disposed to comply with Washington’s orders,

given through him. He addressed many letters to Washington on this subject, and in one, dated November 12, 1777, he says :

“ By a letter of yesterday, Gen. Poor informs me he would certainly march this morning. I must do him the justice to say, he appears solicitous to join you, and that I believe the past delay is not owing to any fault of his, but is *wholly chargeable to Gen. Putnam*. Indeed, Sir, I owe it to the service to say, that every part *of this gentleman's conduct is marked with blunders and negligence and gives general disgust.*”

Again Hamilton says :

“ *I doubt whether he will attend to anything I shall say, notwithstanding it comes in the shape of a positive order.*”

Col. Hamilton had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Washington, of November 15, 1777, in which the Commander-in-Chief says :

“ Dear Sir,—I have duly received your several favors from the time you left me to that of the 12th instant. I approve entirely of all the steps you have taken, and have only to wish that the *exertions of those you have had to deal with had kept pace with your zeal and good intentions.*”

Putnam's disobedience of the orders of Washington, which prevented the latter from even attempting the capture of Howe, which he had determined to effect, deeply affected Washington's mind ; and we find in a letter dated Valley Forge, March 6, 1778, he thus expresses himself in reference to the command of Rhode Island :

“ They also know with more certainty than I do, what will be the determination of Congress respecting Gen. Putnam ; and of course whether the appointment of him to such a command as that at Rhode Island would fall within their views.

It being incumbent on me to observe, that *with such materials as I am furnished, the work must go on—whether well or ill is another matter. If, therefore, he and others are not laid aside, they must be placed where they can least injure the service.*”

In a letter of Washington to Putnam, dated Valley Forge, 16th March, 1778, he says :

“Gen. McDougall is to take command of the posts in the Highlands. My reason for making this change is owing to the *prejudices of the people, which whether well or ill grounded, must be indulged*; and I should think myself wanting in justice to the public and candor towards you, were I to continue you in a command, after I have been, almost in direct terms, informed that the *people of the State of New-York will not render the necessary support and assistance, while you remain at the head of that department.*”

See also Sparks' *Life and Writings of Washington*. vol. 5, pp. 280-284.

(37) The BEAR MARKET, or Hudson Market, as it had been previously called, was erected in the year 1771, and stood in Washington street, between Fulton and Vesey streets, near the water's edge. It derived the name of Bear Market from the circumstance that bear meat was the first kind of meat that was there exposed for sale. Upon its site, the present Washington Market was erected. This market was opened in the year 1813. The building is a spacious one, and is built of brick, and exclusively appropriated to the use of licensed butchers. At the ends of the wings and parallel to the front part, there is a wooden building for the accommodation of country people. Below this and close to the Hudson River

stands the Fish Market, which is likewise built of wood. The Washington market is chiefly patronized by the population of the southern and western parts of the city. The products of the North River country find their principal sale here.

(32) The OLD CITY HALL stood at the corner of Wall and Nassau streets, facing Broad street. It was constructed of the materials of a stone bastion in the line of the wall of defence along Wall street. After it was built, it is on record that it was "ordered that it be embellished with the arms of the King, and the Earl of Bellamont," which when done, the corporation ordered that the latter should be taken down and broken. The City Hall was erected in the year 1700, and was the proper prison of the city, having before it on Broad street, a whipping-post, pillory, etc. In the building were held the sessions of the Provincial Assembly, the Supreme Court, and the Mayor and Admiralty Courts. While the British held possession of the city, they used the City Hall as a guard-house for the main guard. There were dungeons below for the confinement of prisoners. At first only civil offenders were incarcerated there, but subsequently it became the place of imprisonment for whale-boatmen and robbers. During the latter part of the war the refugee clergymen preached in a court room on the second floor. While the building was occupied by the enemy, it was much injured by them, and they broke up and plundered the New York Society Library, then contained in one of the rooms. An eye-witness has affirmed that the soldiers were in the habit of carrying off the books in their knapsacks, and bartering them away for grog. After the Revolution, the building was fitted up under

the direction of the engineer, Major L'Enfant, for the reception of the first Federal Congress. It was here in the open gallery, in front of the Senate Chamber, in the view of an immense concourse of citizens collected on Broad street, that Washington took the oath of office as President of the United States, before Chancellor Livingston. The superb quarto Bible upon which the oath was taken, is still preserved by St. John's Lodge No. 1. Washington, on this occasion, was clad in a suit of brown cloth, of American manufacture—a steel-hilted sword by his side—his hair in a bag, and full powdered—silk hose and shoes with silver buckles. After the removal of Congress, the building was again occupied for city purposes, and continued to be thus used until the year 1813, when the "*Old Federal Hall*," as it had been latterly called, was demolished, and its site is now occupied by the fine marble building known as "*The Custom House*."

(39) JOHN SIMMONS was a noted tavern keeper in the city of New York. He carried on his business for many years in Wall, corner of Nassau street. It is believed that he had at one time the charge of the Old City Hall. He died about the year 1796. Mr. Simmons was a large, fleshy man, and on the day of his funeral, it was found necessary to cut away the street door of his house in order to let his coffin pass. Unlike most persons of obesity, he appears to have been of a petulant disposition, and is said to have been the terror of children, who would run when they saw him coming. He was well known to the urchins of his day by the irreverent cognomen of "*Old Simmons*." After his death, his widow conducted the business for some years.

(40) The "NEW JAIL," or the "*Provost*," as it was called in the Revolution, was a square, stone edifice, with a cupola, and was erected in 1758, in the Park, then known as the "Commons." Many interesting incidents are connected with the history of this building and its vicinity. Here Capt. afterwards Gen. McDougall was confined by the General Assembly, for what they called a libel; and here he was visited by the patriotic gentlemen and ladies who sympathized with him. When the British took possession of the city, they converted this building into a place of confinement for the "more notorious rebels, civil, naval and military. An admission into this modern bastile was enough to appal the stoutest heart. On the right of the main door was Capt. Cunningham's quarters; opposite to which was the guard-room, and within the first barricade was Sergeant O'Keefe's apartment. At the entrance door two sentinels were always posted, day and night. Two more were at the first and second barricades. These barricades were grated, barred and chained. Other sentinels were at the rear door, and on the platform at the grated door at the foot of the second flight of stairs, leading to the rooms and cells in the second and third stories. When a prisoner, escorted by soldiers, was led into the hall, the whole guard was paraded, and he was delivered over, with all formality, to Captain Cunningham or his deputy, and questioned as to his name, rank, size, age, etc., all of which were entered in a record-book. With the bristling of arms, unbolting of bars and locks, the clanking of enormous iron chains, and a vestibule as dark as Erebus, the unfortunate captive might well shrink under this infernal sight and parade of tyrannical power, as he crossed the threshold of that door which possibly closed on him for life. The northeast

chamber, turning to the left, on the second floor, was appropriated to officers and characters of superior rank and distinction, and was called 'Congress Hall.' So closely were the prisoners packed, that when they lay down at night to rest, when their bones ached on the hard oak planks, and they wished to turn, it was altogether by word of command—'*right—left.*' So wedged and compact were they, that they formed almost a solid mass of human bodies. In the daytime the packs and blankets of the prisoners were suspended around the walls, every precaution being used to keep the rooms ventilated, and the walls and floors clean, to prevent the jail fever. As the Provost was generally crowded with American prisoners, and British culprits of every description, it is really wonderful that infection never broke out within its walls. In this gloomy, terrific abode were incarcerated, at different periods, many American officers and citizens of distinction, awaiting with sickening hope and tantalizing expectation the protracted period of their exchange and liberation. Could those dumb walls speak, what scenes of anguish, what tales of agonizing woe might they not disclose. Among other characters who were there at the same time, were the famous Col. Ethan Allen, and Judge Fell, of Bergen County, New Jersey. When Capt. Cunningham entertained the young British officers accustomed to command the Provost guard, by dint of curtailing the prisoners' rations, exchanging good for bad provisions, and other embezzlements practiced, the captain, his deputy, and indeed the commissaries generally, were enabled to fare sumptuously. In the drunken orgies that usually terminated his dinners, the captain would order the rebel prisoners to turn out and parade for the amusement of his guests, pointing them out, "this is the damned rebel

Col. Ethan Allen—that a rebel Judge,” etc. The treatment of the prisoners was as rigid as can be conceived. “They were closely confined in jail, without distinction of rank or character, amongst felons (a number of whom were under sentence of death), and their friends were not suffered to speak to them, even through the grates. They were compelled to subsist upon the scanty weekly allowance of two pounds of hard biscuit, and two pounds of raw pork per man, with no fuel to dress it. They were frequently supplied with water from a pump, where all kinds of filth that could render it obnoxious and unwholesome, was thrown (the effects of which were too often felt), and at the same time good water was as easily obtained. They were denied the benefit of a hospital, were not allowed to send for medicine, and no doctor permitted to visit them, even when they were in the greatest distress. Married men and others who lay at the point of death were refused the attendance of their wives or relatives, and those who attempted to gain admission were often beaten from the prison. Commissioned officers and other persons of character, without a cause were thrown into a loathsome dungeon, insulted in a gross manner, and vilely abused by a Provost marshal who was allowed to be one of the basest characters in the British army, and whose power was so unlimited that he could caned an officer on a trivial occasion, and frequently beat the sick privates when unable to stand, many of whom were daily obliged to enlist in the New Corps, to prevent perishing for want of the necessaries of life. Neither pen, ink or paper was allowed—to prevent their treatment being made public—the consequence of which, the prisoners themselves dreaded, knowing the malignant disposition of their keeper.” “It is said that Cunningham was

only restrained from putting the prisoners to death, five or six of them of a night (back of the prison yard), by the distress of certain women in the neighborhood, who, pained by the cries for mercy which they heard, went to the Commander-in-chief, to whom they made the case known, and entreated him to discontinue the practice." After the Revolution the Provost was again used as a city jail, and was for some time the place of confinement for insolvent debtors, from which circumstance it obtained the name of the "Debtor's Prison." The building was subsequently altered for its present purpose, and is now known as the "*Hall of Records*."

(41) SUSANNAH LEGGETT was the daughter of John Leggett, of West Farms, by his wife Sarah, and was born in Westchester County, N. Y., on the 23d day of July, 1758. She was married on the 3d day of February, 1779, to Abner Everitt, of Pennsylvania, who was by occupation a farmer. She died in Belvidere, N. J., on the 23d day of January, 1848, in the 90th year of her age. Her husband died in Pennsylvania on the 3d day of August, 1794, at the age of 40 years and six months. They had nine children, of whom there were four sons and five daughters. Abner Everitt was an officer in the army of the Revolution, and was at one time a prisoner with the enemy. There is a portrait of Mrs. Everitt, taken in her old age, and said to be an excellent likeness, in possession of her daughter, Mrs. John C. Van Allen, of this city.

(42) ANDREW NORWOOD was the husband of Mary Leggett, and brother-in-law to Major Leggett. Mr. Norwood was a shoemaker by trade. After the war he carried on the business at No. 12 Princess (now Beaver) street for many years.

(43) The surrender of Burgoyne and his army on the 17th of October, 1777, was by far the most fatal disaster which had occurred to the British in this country. While it gave for some time a death blow to their hopes of conquest, it inspired the Americans with a confidence to which many of them had heretofore been strangers. In every part of the country the news was considered important, but to the inhabitants of this city, which at that time consisted chiefly of British soldiers, sailors and royalists, the tidings must have been terrible indeed. It was now evident that the Americans had the ability to take care of themselves, and the consequence was, that they soon found friends who were not only able, but willing and ready to assist them.

(44) William Cunningham, the Provost-Marshal, used every precaution to keep the defeat of Burgoyne from the knowledge of his prisoners. He set a watch upon all persons visiting the Provost, that no communication of the fact might be made. A Miss Margaret Lent, who lived near the prison, and visited it frequently, with food, determined to inform the prisoners of our brilliant and cheering victory. She accordingly baked a letter containing the account in a *loaf of bread*. She carried it to the Provost, and directed that it should not be dispensed until she had time to reach her home. She was hardly across the threshold when a thundering shout from the prison announced to the keeper that the glorious achievement at Saratoga was no longer a secret. This intelligence, it is said, strengthened souls almost crushed by despair, for in it they saw glimmerings of our final triumph.

(45) CAPT. JAMES BREATH was born in the city of New York on the 7th October, 1771. He was married to Betsey,

eldest daughter of Major Leggett, on the 16th October, 1800. He was for many years captain of a merchant ship, sailing from New York to China. He afterwards left the sea, and went into the shipping business, in which occupation he remained for some time. In 1819, he moved to Marine Settlement, Illinois, where he died, October 26th, 1843. His wife, who was born at North Salem, N. Y., April 1st, 1778, died on the 12th February, 1859, in her 82d year, at the residence of her daughter in Danville, Kentucky. Capt. Breath had nine children, viz.:

JAMES SAUNDERS BREATH, born in New York, March 18, 1802.			
ELIZABETH BREATH.....	"	"	Jan. 9, 1804.
Died, Sept., 1820.			
ABRAHAM BREATH.....	"	"	Dec. 1, 1805.
EDWARD BREATH.....	"	"	Jan. 22, 1808.
Died, Nov. 18, 1861.			
JOHN BREATH.....	"	"	Sept. 20, 1809.
Died, Nov. 27, 1863.			
WM. LEGGETT BREATH...	"	"	June 17, 1811.
REBECCA LEGGETT BREATH	"	"	Nov. 15, 1813.
Died, Jan. 10, 1854.			
MARY ADELINE BREATH..	"	"	Dec. 15, 1815.
SAMUEL M. BREATH.....	"	"	Oct. 17, 1817.

(46) CATHARINE WILEY, who became the second wife of Major Leggett, was the daughter of an officer who was killed in the French war. She was born in the town of New Rochelle, Westchester County, N. Y., on the twenty-second day of July, in the year 1762. She was married to Major Leggett in New Rochelle, Jan. 3, 1784. She died in the

city of New York, on the twenty-ninth day of Nov., 1839. They had nine children, viz.:

1. ABRAHAM ALSOP LEGGETT, born in Charleston, S. C., Oct. 23, 1785.
2. MARY NORWOOD LEGGETT, born in Savannah, Ga., Aug. 1, 1788.
3. SARAH WILEY LEGGETT, born in Savannah, Ga., Aug. 23, 1790. Died, Nov. 30, 1791.
4. SARAH LEGGETT, born in Savannah, Ga., Dec. 15, 1792.
5. LOUISA LEGGETT, born in Savannah, Ga., March 13, 1795. Died, April 20, 1820.
6. JANE LEGGETT, born in Savannah, Ga., July 26, 1797. Died, Aug. 10, 1865.
7. WM. W. LEGGETT, born in Savannah, Ga., Nov. 15, 1799. Died, Feb. 11, 1800.
8. WILLIAM LEGGETT (Editor, etc.), born in Savannah, Ga., April 30, 1801. Died, May 29, 1839.
9. CATHARINE WILEY LEGGETT, born in Savannah, Ga., March 19, 1804. Died, May 9, 1850.

(47) GEORGE CLINTON was the youngest son of Col. Charles Clinton, and was born in Ulster, now Orange County, N. Y., on the 26th July, 1739. He studied law under William Smith, and soon rose to distinction. In 1775 he was a member of the Colonial Assembly, and in May of the same year, took his seat as a member of Congress. On the 25th March, 1777, he was appointed a Brigadier-General, and in April following, he became Governor of New York. On the advance of the British up the Hudson in October of that year, he took command of Fort Montgomery, where he and his brother James made a most gallant defence, and on being over-

powered by the enemy, he, with his brother, escaped under cover of the night. In the year 1801, he was again chosen Governor of New York, and in 1804, became Vice-President of the United States, which office he held at the time of his death. He was a man of great energy of character, and was possessed of most undaunted courage. He was distinguished as a soldier, a statesman and a patriot, and figures on the pages of history as one of the most illustrious characters of the revolution. He died at Washington, D. C., April 20th, 1812, in the 73d year of his age.

(45) Fort Slongo was a strong military post at Treadwell's Neck, near Smithtown, Long Island. It was erected by a party of Tory wood-cutters, about one hundred and fifty in number, who committed many outrages and depredations. In the month of October, 1781, Major Benjamin Tallmadge attacked the fort, and destroyed it, carrying off a brass 3-pounder, the colors of the fort, seventy stand of arms, and a quantity of ammunition, besides taking a number of prisoners, and all without the loss of a man. He gives the following account of the expedition :

"The fortress at Treadwell's Neck, called Fort Slongo, seemed to demand attention, as the next in course to Fort St. George, which we had already taken. On the 1st of October, I moved my detachment of light infantry into the neighborhood of Norwalk. At the same time I directed a suitable number of boats to assemble at the mouth of the Saugatuck River, East of the town of Norwalk, and on the evening of the 2nd of October, 1781, at 9 o'clock, I embarked a part of my detachment, and placed Major Trescot at the head of it, with orders to assail the fort at a particular point.

The troops landed on Long Island by 4 o'clock, and at the dawn of day the attack was made and the fortress subdued. The blockhouse and other combustible materials were burnt, and the detachment and prisoners returned in safety."

Memoir of Col. Tallmadge, p. 46.

See also

Onderdonk's Suffolk and King's Counties, p. 105.

(49) TIMOTHY WILLIAMS was the son of Nathaniel Williams, a farmer of Huntington, L. I. His mother's maiden name was Rachel Fleet. She was the daughter of Thomas Fleet, of Huntington, who was by occupation a farmer. The subject of this note was born in Huntington, on the 25th day of December, 1756. He was in the army with Major Leggett during a considerable part of the war of the Revolution, and there was a most intimate and friendly relation between them. Mr. Williams followed the occupation of a merchant for many years after the war. He bore the reputation of a man of great integrity of character and amiability of disposition. He died in Huntington on the 26th day of August, 1811. His wife's maiden name was Jane Oakley. She was the daughter of Wilmot Oakley, a merchant of Sweet Hollow, L. I. She died in the city of New York on the 15th day of August, 1860, in the 90th year of her age. Mr. Williams had seven sons and three daughters. Of these, all are now living, except one daughter and two sons.

(50) The following account of this affair we take from one of the newspapers of the day :

"NEW-YORK, *October* 11.

Monday last were brought to town conducted by Captain Luke of the Loyal Refugees, and safely lodged in the

Provost of this city, the following rebel gentry, viz, Major Brush, Capt. Cornelius Conklin, Capt. J. Conklin, Capt. Rogers, and Lieutenant Faeley, all notorious offenders that have been long practiced in coming from the New England Shore to murder and plunder the King's loyal subjects on Long Island. They were last Saturday taken by Lieutenant Pendergrass and a party of Colonel Cuyler's Refugees, at Smith Town, with their whale boat and considerable booty. A certain Capt. Ketchum, one of the above gang, was killed in attempting to make his escape."

Gaine, Monday, Oct. 16. 1780.





GEORGE THE THIRD.

NARRATIVE
OF
THE EXERTIONS AND SUFFERINGS OF
LIEUT. JAMES MOODY,
IN
THE CAUSE OF GOVERNMENT SINCE THE YEAR 1776.

Written by Himself,

WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS.

Authenticated by proper Certificates.

WITH
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY
CHARLES I. BUSHNELL.



NEW YORK:
PRIVATELY PRINTED.
1865.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1865, by

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New York.



INTRODUCTION.



LIEUT. JAMES MOODY, the author of the following narrative, was one of the most celebrated partisan leaders of the Revolution. He seems, in fact, to have been peculiarly fitted for this species of warfare. With a robust constitution and uncommon physical strength, he was possessed of great activity and power of endurance. His mind was clear and energetic, his spirit firm and determined. He was fruitful in expedients, brave and self-possessed, qualities which enabled him to extricate

himself from many perilous emergencies in the course of his career.

He was originally a farmer in New Jersey. At the commencement of the Revolution, he remained loyal to the king, and by his zeal in the cause, became so obnoxious to the Whigs, that he was at length compelled to seek safety in the British lines. Being naturally fond of adventure, and prompted also by a conviction of right, and also, perhaps, by a spirit of revenge, he soon took up arms in the service, and became celebrated as a partisan and a spy.

In command of an independent company, he was the cause of great suffering to the Americans, by his predatory incursions. Sometimes he would prowl about the camp, watching the movements and noting the plans of the army, and at other times he would lurk about the residences of civilians of character seeking for an opportunity to carry them off.

He was a source of great annoyance to Washington and other commanders by intercepting and seizing their despatches. On one occasion this pro-

pensity was turned to some benefit to the American cause, for he fell in with some documents which had been purposely sent to direct Sir Henry Clinton to New York as the point of attack instead of Yorktown, the real place of rendezvous.

On another occasion he came very near capturing Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, and on another would have succeeded in carrying off the books and documents of Congress but for the treachery of one of his party. In this adventure, his brother was taken and subsequently executed, and Moody himself narrowly escaped capture.

Being exceedingly active, prompt and cunning in the execution of his plans, he spread great terror among the inhabitants. Rewards were offered for his apprehension, and attempts made to take him, but for a time without success.

At length, however, he fell into the hands of Gen. Wayne, who sent him, a prisoner, to West Point, where he endured for a while a rigorous confinement, but he eventually broke his guard, effected his escape, and was again in service as before.

His constitution, though naturally strong, finally became impaired by hardship and exposure, and he was compelled to seek repose. He went to England in the month of November, 1781, and remained there two or three years. He then took up his residence in Weymouth, Nova Scotia, where he became a colonel of a regiment of militia. He lived on half-pay until the year 1809, when he bid adieu to life at the age of sixty-five years.

Mr. Moody received but poor compensation for the losses he sustained, the hardships he endured, and the perils he encountered. The one hundred guineas he obtained for the capture of the first mail, and the two hundred for the second, together with thirty more which were paid him by General Robertson as an outfit for the expedition he undertook for the seizure of Governor Livingston, make the sum total of his emoluments beyond others of his rank.

He had exposed his life for a year, without even the pay of a common soldier, and when he left the army, although deeply in debt by reason of engagements incurred for the cause of the Crown,

serving for over four years with every satisfaction to his superiors, with his health impaired, and his estate forfeited, yet he was, to the shame of the British government, but a mere lieutenant in a corps of volunteers.

About the time when he was soliciting from the Government compensation for the losses he had sustained in the war, he wrote and published a narrative of his adventures.

In consequence of the incredulity with which it was received, he issued in 1783 a second edition, much enlarged, to which he added some corroborative testimony. The narrative is clear and well expressed. It is written with much modesty, and bears the impress of candor, impartiality and truth.

The present issue is printed from the author's private copy of the second edition, containing his manuscript notes and corrections, and is an exact reprint of the original.

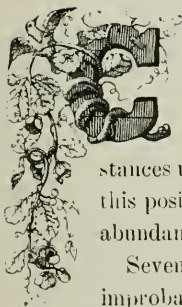
In conclusion, we would state that, for the convenience of the public, the original foot-notes are referred to by marks, and the manuscript

additions by letters. The notes furnished by the editor are designated by numbers, and will be found at the end of the narrative.





NARRATIVE.



CHOICE and plan, it would seem, have seldom much influence in determining either men's characters, or their conditions. These are usually the result of circumstances utterly without our controul. Of the truth of this position, the Writer's own recent history affords abundant proofs.

Seven years ago, few human events seemed more improbable, than that he, a plain, contented farmer, settled on a large, fertile, pleasant, and well-improved farm of his own, in the best climate and happiest country in the world, should ever beat his plough-share into a sword,

and commence a *soldier*. Nor was it less improbable, that he should ever become a *writer*, and be called upon to print a *narrative* of his own adventures. Yet necessity and a sense of duty, contrary to his natural inclination, soon forced him to appear in the former of these characters ; and the importunity of friends has now prevailed with him to assume the latter.

When the present ill-fated Rebellion first broke out, he was, as has already been hinted, a happy farmer, without a wish or an idea of any other enjoyment, than that of making happy and being happy with, a beloved wife, and three promising children. He loved his neighbours, and hopes they were not wholly without regard for him. Clear of debt, and at ease in his possessions, he had seldom thought much of political or state questions ; but he felt and knew he had every possible reason to be grateful for, and attached to, that glorious Constitution to which he owed his security. The first great uneasiness he ever felt, on account of the Public, was when, after the proceedings of the first Congress were known, he foresaw the imminent danger to which this Constitution was exposed ; but he was completely miserable when, not long after, he saw it totally overturned.

The situation of a man who, in such a dilemma, wishes to do right, is trying and difficult. In following the multitude, he was sure of popular applause ; this is always pleasing ; and it is too dearly bought only when a man gives up for it the approbation of his own conscience. He foresaw, in its fullest force, that torrent of reproach, insult,

and injury which he was sure to draw down on himself, and his family, by a contrary conduct ; nor does he wish to deny, that, for some time, these overawed and staggered him. For himself he felt but little ; but he had either too much or too little of the man about him, to bear the seeing of his nearest and dearest relatives disgraced and ruined. Of the points in debate between the parent-state and his native country, he pretended not to be a competent judge : they were studiously so puzzled and perplexed, that he could come to no other conclusion, than that, however real or great the grievances of the Americans *might* be, rebellion was not the way to redress them. It required moreover but little skill to know, that rebellion is the foulest of all crimes ; and that what was begun in wickedness must end in ruin. With this conviction strong upon his mind, he resolved, that there was no difficulty, danger, or distress, which, as an honest man, he ought not to undergo, rather than see his country thus disgraced and undone. In spite therefore of incapacity, in spite of disinclination—nay, in spite even of concern for his family—with the most ardent love for his country, and the warmest attachment to his countrymen, he resolved to do anything, and to be anything, not inconsistent with integrity—to fight, to bleed, to die,—rather than live to see the venerable Constitution of his country totally lost, and his countrymen enslaved. What the consequences of this resolution have been, it is the intention of the following pages to describe.

The facts now to be related have many of them been occasionally published in the New York papers, but in a

state so mutilated and imperfect, as rather to excite than gratify curiosity. They are here brought together under one view, in a connected narrative ; and set down just as they happened. It is not pretended that all his adventures are here related, or that all the circumstances of those related are fully enumerated. It would be impolitic and dangerous for him to recount, at large, all his various stratagems ; it would be barbarous and base, to divulge all the means by which he has sometimes effected his almost miraculous escapes. But were it otherwise, nothing can be farther from his aim, than to make a pompous display of any supposed merit of his own. As to the truth of his principal facts, he appeals to sundry certificates and affidavits now in his possession ; nay, he farther appeals to every officer of every rank, who has either lately served, or is still serving, in America. Yet, after all, from the nature of the case, the credit of some parts of this Narrative must rest upon his own authority, which, he believes, will not be questioned by those who are acquainted with his character.

Of the true causes that gave birth to this unhappy quarrel, Mr. Moody is unwilling to give any opinion. He is no politician ; and, therefore, by no means qualified to reconcile the contradictory assertions and arguments of the contending parties. This only, as an individual of that description of people of whom the greatest part of every community must consist, he thinks it incumbent on him to declare, that it did not originate with the *people* of America, properly so called. They felt no real grievances, and therefore could have no inducement to risk substantial advan-

tages in the pursuit of such as were only imaginary. In making this declaration, he is confident he speaks the sentiments of a great majority of the peasantry of America. But, in every country there are multitudes who, with little property, and perhaps still less principle, are always disposed, and always eager for a change. Such persons are easily wrought upon, and easily persuaded to enlist under the banners of pretended patriots and forward demagogues; of whom also every country is sufficiently prolific.

In America, these popular leaders had a set of men to assist them, who inherited, from their ancestors, the most rooted dislike and antipathy to the constitution of the parent-state; and, by means of *their* friendly co-operation, they were able to throw the whole continent into a ferment in the year 1774, and maddened almost every part of the country with *Associations*, *Committees*, and *Liberty-poles*, and all the preliminary apparatus necessary to a *Revolt*. The general cry was, *Join or die!* Mr. Moody relished neither of these alternatives, and therefore remained on his farm a silent, but not unconcerned, spectator of the black cloud that had been gathering, and was now ready to burst on his devoted head. It was in vain that he took every possible precaution, consistent with a good conscience, not to give offence. Some infatuated associations were very near consigning him to the latter of these alternatives, only because neither his judgment, nor his conscience, would suffer him to adopt the former. He was perpetually harassed by these Committees; and a party employed by them once actually assaulted his person, having first flourished their *tomahawks* over his head

in a most insulting manner. Finding it impossible either to convince these associators, or to be convinced by them, any longer stay among them was useless ; and an attempt made upon him soon after, rendered it impossible. On Sunday 28th March 1777, while he was walking in his grounds with his neighbour Mr. Hutcheson, he saw a number of armed men marching towards his house. He could have no doubt of their intention ; and endeavoured to avoid them. They fired three different shots at him, but happily missed him, and he escaped. From this time, therefore, he sought the earliest opportunity to take shelter behind the British lines ; and set out for this purpose in April 1777. Seventy-three of his neighbours, all honest men, of the fairest and most respectable characters, accompanied him in this retreat. The march was long and dangerous. They were repeatedly annoyed and assaulted ; and once they were under the necessity of coming to an engagement with a rebel party considerably superior in number. Men, circumstanced as he and his friends were, could want no arguments to animate their exertions. The attack was sharp, but the Loyalists were successful ; the enemy gave way, leaving them at liberty to pursue their route unmolested. The whole company, four only excepted, arrived safe at Bergen, where they joined Lieutenant-colonel Barton's (1) battalion, in General Skinner's brigade.* A few, whose professions were calculated to render them useful in that department, joined the engineers.

*Vide General Skinner's Certificate.

In June following, Mr. Moody and Mr. *Hutcheson*, (²) went privately, about 70 miles into the country, to enlist the friends of Government. They enlisted upwards of 500 men. The British army, then at Brunswick, was expected immediately to march through New Jersey. Mr. Moody and his friends had their agents properly placed, to give them the earliest information of the army's moving ; when their plan was, to disarm the disaffected, and generally arm the Loyal. Let the Reader then judge of their mortification, when, whilst their adherents were high in spirits, and confident of their ability, at one blow, as it were, to have crushed the Rebellion in New Jersey, they were informed, that General Howe (³) had evacuated the province, and was gone to the southward.* Notwithstanding this discouragement, Mr. Moody and his party still continued in the country agreeably to their instructions, in the hope that some opportunity would still present itself to annoy the rebellious, and to assist the loyal. But no such opportunity offering immediately, they soon received orders to join the army with the men they had enlisted, or could enlist.

In consequence of these instructions, they set forwards with about 100 Loyalists (not more than that number, from the change of prospects, were then to be prevailed upon to leave their own country ; or, if it had been otherwise, the time was too scanty, being not more than 48 hours, to collect them together, which, it must be obvious, was to be done only with great caution and secrecy), on a march of up-

*This was to the *fatal* Chesapeake expedition *to betray the Loyalists and to ruin Burgoign*. (The words in italic were added by the author.—Ed.)

wards of 70 miles, through a well inhabited part of the province. The rebels pursued them ; and, after several skirmishes, at length came upon them in such force, near Perth-Amboy, that they were obliged to give way and disperse. More than sixty of the party were taken prisoners ; eight only, besides Mr. Moody, got within the British lines. These prisoners, after being confined in Morristown jail, were tried for what was called *high treason* ; (Δ) and above one half of them were sentenced to die. Two, whose names were *Hiff* and *Mee*, were actually executed ; the rest having been reprieved on condition of their serving in the rebel army. The love of life prevailed. They enlisted ; but so strong was their love of loyalty at the same time, that, three or four excepted, who died under the hands of their captors, they all, very soon after, made their escape to the British army.

On comparing the numbers who had first set out with him, with those who, after being taken, had returned to him, Mr. Moody found, that, on the alarm, some had escaped ; and some also, who had been taken and released, being still missing, he concluded that they had gone back to their respective homes. This induced him to return, with-

A.—Was not the taking arms against the King, at least as high Treason as the fighting against their new formed self created states? Yet our Generals suffered these Executions of the Loyalists to go on ; without ever attempting to put a stop to them by threatening to Retaliate, nay they would not permit the Associated Loyalists to save their Friends, by threatening to Execute any of those Rebels, whom these Loyalists had taken prisoners, and whom they then held in their own Custody.

out delay, into the country : and he came back with nineteen men. Convinced that there were still many more, on whom good advice and a good example might have their proper influence, he again went out, and brought back with him forty two young men, as fine soldiers as are in the world : some of whom had but just escaped from jails, where they had been confined for their loyalty. All these he was happy enough to conduct safe to the King's army. From this time, he continued with his battalion till 1778, having just before been made an Ensign.

In the beginning of May 1778, he was again sent into the interior parts of the Rebel country, with orders to remain there as long as he could, to render such service to Government, and its friends, as he should have an opportunity for ; and more especially, to obtain precise intelligence from Colonel *Butler*, then supposed to be at Niagara. He employed a trusty Loyalist to go out to Colonel Butler, (4) who fell in with him between Niagara and Wyoming, and was with him at the reduction of this last mentioned fortress ; and afterwards, along with another of Mr. Moody's men, (who, having been driven from him, in the disaster just related, had gone back, and staid with Colonel Butler, all the winter, as the only place of safety he could find), he returned with the necessary informations ; with which they all went back and reported them at head-quarters. In this interval, Mr. Moody took prisoner a Mr. Martin, chief Commissioner in that district, for the selling of confiscated estates, a man remarkable for his spite and cruelty to the Friends of Government. It was very mortifi-

fyng to Mr. Moody to have this man rescued from him by a large body of the Militia, after having had him in his custody about forty-eight hours. But he relates with pleasure, that the incident had a good effect on this furious oppressor, inasmuch as his behaviour to his loyal neighbours was ever after much more mild and humane.

On the 10th of June 1779, an opportunity of rendering some service to his country now offering, having first requested Mr. Hutcheson and six men, and some guides, to be of the party, he marched, with sixteen of his own men, from Sandy Hook to Shrewsbury. They eluded the vigilance of a Rebel Guard, and gained a place called *The Falls*. Here they surprised and took prisoners, one Colonel, one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, and two Captains, with several other prisoners of inferior note ; and without injuring any private property, destroyed a considerable magazine of powder and arms. With these prisoners, and such public stores as they were able to bring off, Mr. Hutcheson was charged, whilst Mr. Moody brought up the rear, with his sixteen men, to defend them. They were, as they had expected, soon pursued by double their number, and overtaken. Mr. Moody kept up a smart fire on his assailants, checking and retarding them, till Mr. Hutcheson, with their booty, had got a head to a considerable distance. He then also advanced, making for the next advantageous station ; and thus proceeded, from one good spot to another, still covering the prisoners, till they had gained a situation on the shore at Black Point, where the enemy could not flank them. But, just at this time, the pursuers were reinforced

with ten men ; so that they were now forty strong. Mr. Hutcheson, with one man, crossed the inlet, behind which he had taken shelter, and came to Mr. Moody's assistance ; and now a warm engagement ensued, that lasted for three quarters of an hour. By this time all their ammunition, amounting to upwards of eighty rounds of cartridges, was expended ; and ten men only, three of whom were wounded, were in any capacity to follow their leader to the charge. The bayonet was their only resource ; but this the enemy could not withstand : they fled, leaving eleven of their number killed or wounded. Unfortunately, Mr. Moody's small, but gallant party could not follow up their blow ; being, in a manner, utterly exhausted by a long harassed march, in weather intensely hot. They found the Rebel Captain dead, and their Lieutenant also expiring on the field. There was something peculiarly shocking and awful in the death of the former. He was shot by Mr. Moody, whilst with the most bitter oaths and threats of vengeance, after having missed once, he was again levelling his piece at him. Soon after the engagement, one of the party came forwards, with an handkerchief flying from a stick, and demanded a parley. His signal was returned, signifying the willingness of the Loyalists to treat with him ; and a truce was speedily agreed on ; the conditions of which were, That they should have leave to take care of their dead and wounded ; whilst Mr. Moody's party was permitted, unmolested, to return to the British lines. Happily none of the wounds, which any of his men received in this expedition, proved mortal. The publick stores which they brought away with

them, besides those which they had destroyed, sold for upwards of five hundred pounds sterling ; and every shilling of this money was given by Mr. Moody to the men, as a small reward for their very meritorious conduct.⁽⁵⁾

About the middle of the October following, Mr. Moody was again sent into the interior parts of the Rebel Country, to obtain intelligence respecting Washington's army. He succeeded ; and his intelligence was communicated to General Pattison. Again, about the middle of November, he was desired to find out the situation and circumstances of an army under the Rebel General Sullivan, ⁽⁶⁾ which had lately been on an expedition to the westward against the Indians. Accordingly, he went eighty miles into Pennsylvania, close by Sullivan's camp ; and obtained an exact account of the number of men and horses with which he went out from Easton, on this Indian expedition ; and the number also that he returned with.

From thence, he went to Morris County, where Washington then lay with his army. And here he had the good fortune to obtain, from their own books, an account of the rations which were drawn for them. He next went to Pumpton, where General Gates ⁽⁷⁾ then was, on his march to the southward ; and here also he gained the exactest information, not only of the amount of the force then with him, but of the numbers that were expected to join him. And now, having pretty well gone through the business entrusted to him, he re-

turned to New York, and continued there till next year.

In May 1780, he took with him four trusty men, and went into the Rebel Country, with the intention of surprising Governor Livingston, (s) a man whose conduct had been, in the most abandoned degree, cruel and oppressive to the loyal inhabitants of New Jersey. When, with all necessary secrecy, Mr. Moody had got into his immediate neighbourhood, information was received, that Mr. Livingston was gone to Trenton to meet the assembly; and that, on his return, he was to see some persons on business at an appointed place. This made it necessary for the Ensign to alter his measures, as he did immediately. He led his party into Sussex County, and there left them; himself only retiring to a proper situation, till his plan should be ripe for execution. Being under a necessity of again returning into Sussex, before anything could be done, he had the mortification to find, that one of his men had been taken prisoner by a Rebel Major of the name of *Hoops*, who extorted a confession from him that Moody was in the country, and, as he imagined, in quest of some person of note, who lived near Morris Town.(s) This blasted the whole project; the intelligence was instantly sent to Livingston, who, too justly, concluded himself to be the person aimed at; and, of course, took every precaution to prevent a surprise.

Still, however, Mr. Moody flattered himself he should yet be more fortunate, and do something, notwithstanding

ing the alarm that was now spread through the country. The first plausible thing that offered was, a plan to blow up the magazine at Suckasnna, about sixteen miles back of Morris Town ; but this also proved abortive : for, notwithstanding his having prevailed on some British prisoners, taken with General Burgoyne,⁽¹⁰⁾ to join him in the enterprise, the alarm was now become so general, and the terror so great, that they had increased their guard around this magazine, to the number of an hundred and upwards ; so that he was under the necessity of abandoning his project.

Returning again into Sussex County, he now heard that several prisoners were confined, on various suspicions and charges of loyalty, in the jail of that county ; and that one of them was actually under sentence of death. This poor fellow was one of Burgoyne's soldiers, charged with crimes of a civil nature, of which, however, he was generally believed to be innocent. But when a clergyman of the Church of England interposed with his unrelenting prosecutor, and warmly urged this plea of innocence, he was sharply told, that, though he might not perhaps deserve to die for the crime for which he had been committed, there could be no doubt of his deserving to die, as an enemy to America. There was something so piteous, as well as shameful, in the case of this ill-fated victim to republican resentment, that it was determined if possible, to release both him and his fellow-prisoners. For this purpose, Mr. Moody took with him six men, and, late at night entered the country

town about seventy miles from New York. The inhabitants of the town were but too generally disaffected. This suggested the necessity of stratagem. Coming to the jail, the keeper called out from the window of an upper room, and demanded what their business was? The Ensign immediately replied, "He had a prisoner to deliver into his custody." "What! One of *Moody's* fellows?" said the Jailor. "Yes," said the Ensign. On his enquiring what the name of this supposed prisoner was, one of the party, who was well known, by the inhabitants of that place, to be with Mr. Moody, personated the character of a prisoner, and spoke for himself. The jailor gave him a little ill language; but, notwithstanding, seemed highly pleased with the idea of his having so notorious a Tory in his custody. On the Ensign's urging him to come down, and take charge of the man, he peremptorily refused; alleging, that, in consequence of *Moody's* being out, he had received strict orders to open his doors to no man after sun-set; and that therefore he must wait till morning. Finding that this tale would not take, the Ensign now changed his note; and, in a stern tone, told him, "Sirrah, the man who now speaks to you is *Moody*: I have a strong party with me; and if you do not this moment deliver up your keys, I will instantly pull down your house about your ears." The jailor vanished in a moment. On this, Mr. *Moody's* men, who were well skilled in the Indian war-whoop, made the air resound with such a variety of hideous yells, as soon left them nothing to fear from the

inhabitants of New Town, which, though the county town, consists only of twenty or thirty houses. "The Indians, the Indians are come!"—said the panic-struck people; and happy were they who could soonest escape into the woods. While these things were thus going on, the Ensign had made his way through a casement, and was met by a prisoner, whom he immediately employed to procure him a light. The vanished jailor was now again produced; and most obsequiously conducted Mr. Moody to the dungeon of the poor wretch under sentence of death.

It may seem incredible, but it is an undoubted fact, that, notwithstanding all the horrors and awfulness of his situation, this poor, forlorn, condemned British soldier was found fast asleep; and had slept so sound, as to have heard nothing of the uproar or alarm. There is no possibility of describing the agony of this man, when, on being thus suddenly aroused, he saw before him a man in arms, attended by persons, whom, though they were familiarly known to him, so agitated were his spirits, he was utterly at a loss then to recognize. The first, and the only idea that occurred to him was, that, as many of the friends of Government had been privately executed in prison, the person he saw was his executioner. On Mr. Moody's repeatedly informing him of his mistake, and that he was come to release him in the name of *King George*, the transition, from such an abyss of wretchedness to so extravagant a pitch of joy, had well nigh overcome him. Never before had the

Writer been present at so affecting a scene. The image of the poor soldier, alternately agitated with the extremes of despair and rapture, is, at this moment, present to his imagination, as strong almost as if the object were still before him ; and he has often thought, there are few subjects on which a painter of taste and sensibility could more happily employ his pencil. The man looked wild ; and undoubtedly was wild, and hardly in his senses : and yet he laboured, and was big with some of the noblest sentiments, and most powerful passions by which the human mind is ever actuated. In such circumstances, it was with some difficulty that the Ensign got him away. At length, however, his clothes were got on ; and he, with all the rest who chose to avail themselves of the opportunity, were conducted into safety, notwithstanding a warm pursuit of several days.

The humane reader, Mr. Moody persuades himself, will not be less affected than he himself was, at the mournful sequel of this poor soldier's tale. In the course of war he was again taken, and again conducted to the dungeon ; and afterwards actually executed on the same sentence on which he had been before convicted ; though he left the world with the most solemn asseverations of his innocence, as to any crime of which he had been accused, excepting only an unshaken allegiance to his Sovereign.

A few other particulars respecting this poor man, who, though but a common soldier in a marching regiment, was, in all the essential and best parts of the character,

an hero, the Writer cannot excuse himself from the relation of. His situation and circumstances in the Rebel Country being peculiar, Mr. Moody, not thinking it proper himself to return thither so soon, took the earliest means he could to have him conveyed safe to New York. But no arguments, no entreaties, could prevail with him to leave his deliverer. "To you," said he, "I owe my life : to you, and in your service, let me devote it. You have found me in circumstances of ignominy : I wish for an opportunity to convince you, that you have not been mistaken in thinking me innocent. I am, and you shall find me, a good soldier." It was to this fatal but fixed determination, that he soon after owed the loss of his life.

When he was brought to the place of execution, the persons, who had charge of him, told him, they had authority to promise him a reprieve; and they did most solemnly promise it to him, on condition only that he would tell them, who the Loyalists in the country were that had assisted Moody. His reply was most manly and noble ; and proves, that real nobility and dignity of sentiment are appropriated to no particular rank or condition of life. "I love life," he said, "and there is nothing which a man of honour can do, that I would not do to save it; but I cannot pay this price for it. The men you wish me to betray must be good men, because they have assisted a good man in a good cause. Innocent, as I am, I feel this an awful moment: how far it becomes you to tempt me to make it terrible, by

overwhelming me in the basest guilt, yourselves must judge. My life is in your power; my conscience, I thank God, is still my own."

Another extraordinary circumstance is said to have befallen him; which, as well as the preceding, Mr. Moody relates on the testimony of an eye-witness yet living. Though he was a small and light man; yet the rope, with which he was suspended, broke. Even still this poor man's admirable presence of mind and dignity of conscious innocence, did not forsake him. He instantly addressed himself to the surrounding multitude, in the following words: "Gentlemen, I cannot but hope that this very extraordinary event will convince you, of what I again solemnly protest to you, that I am innocent of the crime for which you have adjudged me to die." But he still protested in vain.

The supposed crime for which he suffered was, the plundering and robbing the house of a certain furious and powerful Rebel. But it would be unjust to his memory not to certify, as Mr. Moody does, that he has since learned, from the voluntary confession of a less conscientious loyalist, that this honest man was charged wrongfully; inasmuch as he himself, without the knowledge of the other, on the principles of retaliation and revenge, had committed the crime. The name of the above-mentioned honest soldier and martyr, was ROBERT MAXWELL, a Scotsman, who had had a good education.

Not long after, obtaining information of the British army's moving towards Springfield, Mr. Moody con-

cluded, that the campaign was open. There appeared no way in which, with his small party of seven men, he could be more useful, than by securing as many as he could of the Rebel Militia. Accordingly, it was not long before he contrived to take prisoners, a Major, a Captain, two Lieutenants, and sundry Committee Men ; in all to the amount of eighteen. Some requested to be parolled ; and the Ensign complied with their request ; because it was not only reasonable and humane, but because also it left him at liberty to pursue fresh objects. Some requested to take the oath of neutrality ; and it was not less willingly administered to them.

The Rebel part of the country was now again in an alarm, and the Ensign was again pursued and fought, according to the strong expression of Scripture, "as a partridge in the mountains." But "wandering in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth," by the blessing of God, he still eluded all their researches. At length, however, being under a necessity of returning to New York, he collected a few more of Burgoyne's men ; and, having now augmented his party to thirteen, he set out for that capital. But his former good fortune now forsook him ; and he himself was soon doomed to feel all those bitter calamities, from which it had been the object of his exertions to extricate others.

On the 21st of July 1780, it was his ill hap to fall in with an army, which the Rebel General *Wayne*(11) was conducting to the siege of *The Blockhouse*, commanded by

Captain *Ward*. Resistance was vain, and retreat impracticable. Mr. Moody, and the greater part of his men, were now obliged to submit to captivity.⁽¹²⁾

He, and two of his men, were immediately sent to a place called *The Slote*; where they were confined, with their hands tied behind their backs. On the 22d they were removed to *Stony-point*; and on the 23d to Colonel Robertson's house, at *West-Point*. The Rebel General *Howe*,⁽¹³⁾ who commanded at this post, treated Mr. Moody with great civility; and permitted his servant to attend him. From thence, he was sent to *Fish-kill*, to the Rebel Commissary of prisoners, who passed him on to *Æsopus*. At *Æsopus*, he remained till the 2d of August; when, in the night, he was put into a strong room guarded by four soldiers, two within the door, and two without. The Serjeant, in the hearing of the Ensign, gave orders to the sentinels who were in the room with him, to insist on his lying down on a bed, and instantly to shoot him if he attempted to rise from it. On this, he requested and insisted to see the Commissary. The Commissary came; and was asked, if these orders were from him? His answer was, "The Serjeant had done his duty; and he hoped the men would obey their orders." Mr. Moody remonstrated, and urged, that it was no uncommon thing with him to rise from his bed in his sleep; he requested therefore only, that, if he should happen now to be overtaken with such an infirmity, the men might be ordered to call him by his name, and at least to awake him before they fired. All

the answer he could obtain, from this tyrant—minion of tyrant-masters, was a cool and most cutting repetition of his former words.

After having twice more changed the place of his confinement, on the 10th of August he was carried back to *West-point*. And here his sufferings seemed to be but beginning ; for the cruelties he experienced, under the immediate eye of General *Arnold*,⁽¹⁴⁾ who then commanded there, infinitely exceeded all that he has ever met with before or since.

Nothing can be further from Mr. Moody's wishes than to become any man's accuser ; but no man should be afraid either to hear, or to tell the truth, which is of no party, and should be observed by all. Humanity, moreover, is so lovely and necessary a virtue, and especially in times of civil war, that Mr. Moody owns he is proud, and loves, to acknowledge and praise it, even in an enemy ; of course, he must lament and reprobate the want of it, though in his best friend. Under new masters, it is hoped, General Arnold has learned new maxims. Compelled by truth, however, Mr. Moody must bear him testimony, that he was *then* faithful to his employers, and abated not an iota in fulfilling both the letter and the spirit of their general orders and instructions.⁽¹⁵⁾

Mr. Moody feels this to be an unpleasant part of his Narrative. It is with pain he pursues it. May it be permitted him then to give the subsequent part of it in the words of an affidavit, taken in the Judge-Advocate's

Office at New York, from the month of William Buirtis, who was confined for his loyalty in the same prison with Mr. Moody.

“JUDGE-ADVOCATE’S OFFICE,

New York. May 11, 1782.

“This day personally appeared William Buirtis, a Refugee from the county of West Chester, in the province of New York, but now residing on York Island, in the province aforesaid; and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, depose and saith:

“That some time in the month of August 1780, he (the deponent) was confined in a dungeon at West-Point Fort, under sentence of death, having been charged with giving certain intelligence and information to General Mathew. ⁽¹⁶⁾ one of his Britannic Majesty’s Generals serving at that time in America; that, about the middle of the month of August aforesaid, Lieutenant *James Moody*, of Brigadier General Skinner’s first battallion, was brought under guard, and confined in the same dungeon with him (the deponent); that, the day following, he (Lieutenant Moody) was put in irons and hand-cuffed; that the hand-cuffs were of a particular sort and construction, *ragged on the inside* next the wrist, which raggedness caused his wrists to be much cut and scarified; that soon after he (Lieutenant Moody) was ironed and hand-cuffed, an officer came and demanded his money, saying, “*he was ordered to take what money he had, and should obey his orders punctually;*” that the money was not delivered, as he (Lieutenant Moody) was resolute in refusing, and determined not to give it up. He (Lieutenant Moody) then petitioned General Benedict Arnold, at that time in the Rebel service, and Commanding Officer at West Point, to grant him relief; in which petition he set forth

the miserable situation he was in, as also the torment he suffered, occasioned by the hand-cuffs; to which petition he received no answer, though he was told, by two officers in the Rebel service, his petition had been delivered to General Arnold.

"That about a week after his first petition had been sent, he petitioned a second time for relief from his suffering, requesting moreover to be brought to a trial, observing, that if he should be found guilty of death he should desire to suffer, as death was much preferable to torment, and being murdered by inches. Some little time after the delivery of the second petition, one of General Arnold's Aids de Camps, whose name he (the deponent) cannot recollect, came to the dungeon; and, on seeing him, (Lieutenant Moody,) asked, if that was the *Moody* whose name was a terror to every good man? On his replying that his name was Moody, he (the Aid de Camp) replied in a scoffing manner, "*You have got yourself into a pretty situation;*" on his (Lieutenant Moody's) saying the situation was disagreeable, but he hoped it would not be of long continuance; he answered, he believed not, as he would soon meet with justice (pointing at the same time to a gallows that was erected in the sight and view of the dungeon); and also added, *there is* the gallows ready erected which he (meaning Moody) had long merited. Lieutenant Moody answered, he made no doubt he (the Aid de Camp) wished to see every Loyal Subject hanged, but he thanked God, the power was not in *him*; but if he (Lieutenant Moody) was hanged, it could be for no other reason than being a Loyal Subject to one of the best of Kings, and under one of the best of Governments; and added, if he had *ten* lives to lose, he would sooner forfeit the ten as a Loyal Subject than *one* as a Rebel; and also said, he hoped to live to see him (the Aid de Camp), and a thousand

such other villains hanged for being Rebels. The officer then said he was sent to examine his irons, as he (Lieutenant Moody) had been frequently troubling General Arnold with his petitions. On examining the irons, he said *they were too bad* ; and asked, who put them on ?—saying, ‘ *Irons were intended for security, not for torment : but if any one merited such irons, he (Lieutenant Moody) did in his opinion.*’ Lieutenant Moody, however, was not relieved at that time from his irons ; but, about a week or ten days afterwards, an officer came from General Washington, ordered the irons to be taken off, and Lieutenant Moody to be better treated. In consequence of General Washington’s order, he was better used ; that he, (the deponent) knows nothing farther that happened, as he (Lieutenant Moody,) in a few days afterwards, was removed from that place.

“ WILLIAM BURTIS.(17)

“ Sworn before me at the time and place above mentioned,

“ RICHARD PORTER,

As. Dy. Judge-Advocate.”

The above-mentioned dungeon was dug out of a rock, and covered with a platform of planks badly jointed, without any roof to it ; and all the rain which fell upon it immediately passed through, and lodged in the bottom of this dismal mansion. It had no floor but the natural rock ; and the water, with the mud and filth collected, was commonly ankle-deep in every part of it. Mr. Moody’s bed was an old door, supported by four stones, so as just to raise it above the surface of the water. Here he continued near four weeks ; and, during most of the time, while he was tormented with

irons in the manner mentioned above, no food was allowed him but stinking beef, and rotten flour, made up into balls or dumplings, which were thrown into a kettle and boiled with the meat, and then brought to him in a wooden bowl which was never washed, and which contracted a thick crust of dough, grease, and dirt. It is a wonder that such air, and such food, to say nothing of the wounds upon his legs and wrists, were not fatal to him, especially as the clothes on his back were seldom dry, and at one time were continually wet for more than a week together. After Mr. Washington interfered he was served with wholesome provisions, and he was allowed to purchase for himself some milk and vegetables.

The ways of Providence are often mysterious, frequently bringing about its ends by the most unlikely means. To this inhuman treatment in General Arnold's camp, Mr. Moody owed his future safety. On the 1st of September he was carried to Washington's camp, and there confined near their Liberty-pole. Colonel *Skammel*,⁽¹⁸⁾ the Adjutant General, came to see him put in irons. When they had hand-cuffed him, he remonstrated with the Colonel, desiring that his legs, which were indeed in a worse situation than even his wrists, might be examined ; farther adding only, that death would be infinitely preferable to a repetition of the torments he had just undergone. The Colonel did examine his legs ; and, on seeing them, he also acknowledged, that his treatment had indeed been too bad ; and asked, if Gen-



GENERAL WASHINGTON.

eral Arnold had been made acquainted with his situation. Mr. Moody feels a sincere pleasure in thus publicly acknowledging his obligations and his gratitude to Colonel Skammel, who humanely gave orders to the Provost Marshal to take good care of him, and by no means to suffer any irons to be put on his legs, till they were likely to prove less distressing.

Mr. Moody attended the rebel army in its march over the *New Bridge*; and had an opportunity of observing their whole line, and counting their artillery. Everything seemed smooth and fair, and he felt himself much at ease, in the prospect of being soon exchanged; when, very unexpectedly, he was visited by an old acquaintance, one of their Colonels, who informed him, that he was in two days time to be brought to trial; that *Livingston* was to be his prosecutor, and that the Court Martial was *carefully picked* for the purpose. He subjoined, that he would do well to prepare for Eternity, since, from the evidence which he knew would be produced, there was but one issue of the business to be expected. Mr. Moody requested to be informed, what it was the purpose of this evidence to prove? it was, his well wisher told him, that he had assassinated a Captain Shaddock, and a Lieutenant Hendrickson. These were the two officers who had fallen fairly in battle near Black Point, as has been already related. The Ensign replied, that he felt himself much at ease on that account, as it could be sufficiently cleared up by their own people, who had been in, and had survived, the

action, as well as by some of their officers, who were at the time prisoners to him, and spectators of the whole affair. "All this," said his friend, "will be of little avail; you are so obnoxious; you have been, and are likely to be, so *mischievous* to us, that, be assured, we are resolved to get rid of you at any rate. Besides, you cannot deny, and it can be proved by incontestible evidence, that you have enlisted men, in this *State*, for the King's service, and this, by our laws, is *death*."

Ensign Moody affected an air of unconcern at this information; but it was too serious and important to him to be really disregarded; he resolved, therefore, from that moment, to effect his escape, or to perish in the attempt.

Every precaution had been taken to secure the place in which he was confined. It was nearly in the centre of the rebel camp. A sentinel was placed with in the door of his prison, and another without, besides four others close round, and within a few yards of the place. The time now came on when he must either make his attempt, or lose the opportunity for ever. On the night, therefore, of the 17th of September, busy in ruminating on his project, he had, on the pretence of being cold, got a watch-coat thrown across his shoulders, that he might better conceal, from his unpleasant companion, the operations which he meditated against his hand-cuffs. While he was racking his invention, to find some possible means of extricating himself from his fetters, he providentially cast his eye on a post fastened in the ground, through which an hole had been

bored with an auger ; and it occurred to him that it might be possible, with the aid of this hole, to break the bolt of his handcuffs. Watching the opportunity, therefore, from time to time, of the sentinel's looking another way, he thrust the point of the bolt into the above-mentioned hole, and by cautiously exerting his strength, and gradually bending the iron backwards and forwards, he at length broke it. Let the reader imagine what his sensations were, when he found the manacles drop from his hands ! He sprung instantly past the interior sentinel, and rushing on the next, with one hand he seized his musquet, and with the other struck him to the ground. The sentinel within, and the four others who were placed by the fence surrounding the place of his confinement, immediately gave the alarm ; and, in a moment, the cry was general,—“ *Moody* is escaped from the Provost.” It is impossible to describe the uproar which now took place throughout the whole camp. In a few minutes every man was in a bustle ; every man was looking for *Moody*, and multitudes passed him on all sides—little suspecting, that a man whom they saw deliberately marching along, with a musket on his shoulder, could be the fugitive they were in quest of. The darkness of the night, which was also blustering and drizzly, prevented any discrimination of his person, and was indeed the great circumstance that rendered his escape possible.

But no small difficulty still remained to be surmounted. To prevent desertion, which at that time, was very

frequent, Washington had surrounded his camp with a chain of sentinels, posted at about forty or fifty yards distance from each other ; he was unacquainted with their stations ; to pass them undiscovered was next to impossible ; and to be discovered would certainly be fatal. In this dilemma Providence again befriended him. He had gained their station without knowing it, when luckily he heard the watch-word passed from one to another—"Look sharp to the chain—Moody is escaped from the Provost." From the sound of the voices he ascertained the respective situations of these sentinels ; and, throwing himself on his hands and knees, he was happy enough to crawl through the vacant space between two of them, unseen by either. Judging that their line of pursuit would naturally be towards the British army, he made a detour into the woods on the opposite side. Through these woods he made as much speed as the darkness of the night would permit, steering his course, after the Indian manner, by occasionally groping and feeling the *white-oak*. On the south side the bark of this tree is rough and unpleasant to the touch, but on the north side it is smooth ; hence it serves the sagacious traverser of the desert, by night as well as by day, for his compass. Through the most distant woods and swamps he continued to wander till the night of the 21st, a space of more than fifty-six hours, during which time, he had no other sustenance than a few *beach* leaves (which, of all that the woods afforded, were the least unpleasant to the taste, and least per-

nicious to health,) which he chewed and swallowed, to abate the intolerable cravings of his hunger.

In every inhabited district he knew there were friends of Government, and he had now learned also where and how to find them out, without endangering *their* safety, which was always the first object of his concern. From some of these good men he received minute information how the pursuit after him was directed, and where every guard was posted. Thus assisted, he eluded their keenest vigilance ; and, at length, by God's blessing, to his unspeakable joy, he arrived safe at *Paulus-Hook*.

On the 6th of March 1781, Colonel Delancey.⁽¹⁹⁾ the Adjutant General, requested Mr. Moody to make an expedition into the rebel country, for the purpose of intercepting Mr. Washington's dispatches. He readily consented ; and set out on the expedition the very next night, and travelled about twenty-five miles. The following day he and his party kept concealed in a swamp. The next night, for it was only by night that they could venture to stir, they had not gone far, when the man who had undertaken to be their guide, refused to advance a step farther. No arguments, no promises, no threats, could prevail with him to proceed, though it was at his own express desire that he was one of the party. Incensed at his being so perverse and wrong-headed, Mr. Moody, in the first transports of indignation, had actually cocked his gun in order to shoot him ; but happily he instantly recollected, that the poor devil had a wife and family who depended on him for bread.

This restrained him ; and ordering his arms to be taken from him, he was under the painful necessity of returning with him to New-York.

This man was remarkably earnest and vehement in his resentment against the Rebels. He had been much injured by them in his property ; and they had also put both his father and his brother to an ignominious death. It was natural to suppose, therefore, that such a man would be true and firm. But he was loyal only through resentment and interest, not from conviction and principle. These Loyalists, from principle, were the men on whom he relied ; and no one of these ever failed him.

The Adjutant General seemed to be much disappointed on seeing the party return, supposing the hope of obtaining the dispatches to be now vain. Mr. Moody informed him of what had happened ; but added, that he had ever since kept his eye on the renegade, and had not suffered a soul to speak to him ; and requested that this caution should be still continued, and that even the sentry, who was to guard him, should not be permitted to have any intercourse with him. *On this condition* he promised again to make the attempt, and hoped not without success. Accordingly, he set out a second time, and, on the night of the 10th he reached Haverstraw mountains. On his march he was informed, that the post had gone by that day. On the 11th the weather became very inclement, and he, with his party, suffered exceedingly from a heavy fall of snow ; not-

withstanding, they pushed forward, hoping, by rapid marches, to get a-head of the rider. These efforts, though excessively fatiguing, were as yet all in vain; but on the 15th they were successful, and got possession of their prize; and, after some equally difficult and distressing marches on their return, they at length arrived safe with it in New York. The inexpressible hardships which the party underwent in this adventure, both from hunger and cold, were fatal to the health of most of them. Soon after Mr. Moody was made a Lieutenant, having first served more than a year as a volunteer without any pay, and almost three years as an Ensign.

About the middle of May the Adjutant General again complained of the want of intelligence, and told Lieutenant Moody, that he could not render the King's cause a more essential piece of service than by bringing in, if it were possible, another rebel mail. There was no declining such a solicitation. Therefore, on the night of the 15th, taking four men with him, Mr. Moody set out, and travelled twenty-five miles. Hitherto he and his associates met with no molestation; but they had not gone far the next night, when they perceived a considerable party of men approaching them as secretly as possible. Mr. Moody tried to get off by the left, but he found himself and his party inclosed on three sides. On the right was a high cliff of rocks, so rugged and steep that the enemy thought it impossible for them to escape on that side. It was obvious, from these cir-

cumstances, that an ambush was laid, and that this spot, so peculiarly convenient, was chosen for the purpose ; in short, that Mr. Moody and his party had been betrayed by intelligence sent forward from New York. The only alternative left was to surrender and perish, or to leap down from the top of these rocks, without knowing, with any certainty, either how high they were, or what sort of ground was at the bottom. The Lieutenant bade his men follow him, and sprang forward. Providentially the ground at the bottom was soft, and everything else just as they could have wished it : they escaped unhurt, and proceeded for some time unmolested. But, at no great distance, crossing a swamp, just beyond it they fell in with another party, of much the same number as the former. Luckily they saw, and were not seen. A little hillock was at hand, to which the Lieutenant ordered his men quietly to retreat, and fall on their faces ; judging that, in case they were discovered, there would be some advantage in having to charge from higher ground, by which means, if at all, they might cut their way through the party. What he and his men felt, when they beheld so superior a force marching directly towards them, till at last they were within fifty yards ; or, when, in this awful moment, they had the happiness to see them, without being discovered, take another course ; no person of sensibility will need be told. A little council of war was now held, and it was determined to return whither only the way seemed clear. To advance was impracticable, as there

now could remain not a doubt but that intelligence of the intended route had been sent from within the British lines, and that the enemy had made a proper use of it. They began, therefore, with all possible caution, to measure back their steps ; for they were still apprehensive of other plots and other ambushes.

And now, having gained the North River, and being within four miles of New York, they flattered themselves they were once more out of danger. But, being within a hundred yards of a certain house, how were they alarmed when they saw seventy men come out of it, and advance directly towards them ! Lieutenant Moody was convinced they were Rebels ; but the guide insisted that they were Loyalists, and that he *knew* several of them. On this, the latter, with another man, went forward to meet them, notwithstanding that the former still persisted in his opinion. A very unpleasant salute soon convinced this unfortunate *duumvirate* of their mistaken confidence. The main body made for the Lieutenant, who had no other means of escape than to climb a steep hill ; but, long before he had reached the summit, they had so gained on him as to be within fifty yards. He received one general discharge, and thought it little short of a miracle that he escaped unwounded. The bullets flew like a storm of hail all around him ; his clothes were shot through in several places ; one ball went through his hat, and another grazed his arm. Without at all slackening his pace he turned round, and discharged his musquet, and by this shot killed one of his pursuers : still they kept up their fire, each man discharging

his piece as fast as he could load ; but, gaining an opportunity of soon doubling upon them, he gave them the slip, and in due time arrived, once more, safe in New York. One of the two men who had escaped, and got in first, mistaking the screams of the poor fellow who was shot, for those of Lieutenant Moody himself, had given out that the Lieutenant was killed, for that he had heard his cries ; but the friends of the latter were soon happy to see so unequivocal a proof that the man was mistaken.

The very first night after his return to New York, as above related, *viz.*, on the 18th of May, Lieutenant Moody set out again on the business of this expedition. The Rebels knew that he had been driven back, and he thought it the properest time to proceed immediately in pursuit of his object. On that night, with his small party of four men, he got as far as Secaucus. The next night they crossed the Hackinsack river, by means of a canoe which Lieutenant Moody always kept there for such purposes, and which, after crossing, he concealed till his return. He then proceeded on, till, coming to the edge of a marsh, he fell in with a party of Rebels, who were patrolling in that quarter, with a view only, it is probable, of intercepting the country people who might be carrying provisions to New York. This party discovered the Lieutenant first, without being seen, and suffered him to pass their van, not hailing him till some of them were in his rear, as well as some in his front. He was ordered instantly to *stand*, or he and all with him were dead men. This summons the Lieutenant answered by an immediate discharge, which they returned. He then

calling on his rear to advance, as if he had a large body in reserve, and giving a second fire, they soon dispersed. He was informed the next day, that this rebel party consisted of twelve men.

Marching on about four miles farther, he came to Saddle River, which it was necessary to cross ; but apprehensive that there might be a guard stationed at the bridge, though the night was dismally dark and rainy, and the river had greatly overflowed its banks, he waded, for several yards, through a considerable depth of water, till he got close to the bridge, where he saw, as he had feared, a regular guard. On this he retreated with all possible speed and caution ; and was obliged to wade through the river, about half a mile farther up, not without much difficulty and danger.

The country being now much alarmed with rumors of Moody's being out, occasioned by this little rencontre, the *mail*, instead of being sent by Pompton, as it usually had been, and where it was expected to be met with, was now sent by the back road, with a guard to secure it. On discovering this, the Lieutenant dispatched a trusty Loyalist to a distant part of the province, with letters to his friends ; and particularly directing one of them, whose person, figure and voice most resembled his own, to pass for him but a single hour ; which he readily did. In this friend's neighbourhood lived a pompous and important Justice of a Peace, who was a cowardly fellow, and of course had been cruel. At this man's house, early in the evening, the person employed raised an alarm. The Justice came out, and espying, as it was intended he should, a *tall man*, his fears

convinced him it was Moody ; and he instantly betook himself to the woods. The next day the rumour was general, that Moody was in that part of the country ; and the militia was brought down from the part where he really was, to pursue him where he was not. This facilitated the capture of the *mail*, which he waylaid for five days before the opportunity presented. This mail contained all the dispatches that were sent in consequence of the interview between General Washington and the count Rochambeau (20) in Connecticut.^B

Lieutenant Moody caused two other mails to be taken by the people under his direction. In one of these little expeditions his brother commanded, a young man, whose fearless courage, in the very teeth of danger, he had repeatedly witnessed. The younger Moody succeeded in his attempt, so far as to intercept the mail ; but, after seizing it, he was attacked by a superior party, and two of his men were taken ; yet he himself had the good fortune to escape, with that part of the papers which was in his own custody. Pennsylvania was the scene of this enterprise.

A tale far more melancholy than any yet related comes now to be told ; the recollection of which (and it is impossible he should ever forget it) will forever wring with anguish

(B) A few days after this Genl. Clinton told him, that the Letters were of great consequence, that the taking of them was a most important service. But that he had now done enough ; that he would not suffer him to venture himself in any more of such hazardous enterprises : and that he would take care to provide for him. Mr. Moody does not doubt but that he then intended it ; but these and his other intentions seldom lasted longer than the day.

the heart of the Writer of this Narrative. In the end of October 1781, Major Beckwith, Aid de Camp to General Knipphausen,⁽²¹⁾ came and informed Lieutenant Moody, that one *Addison* had been with him, on a project of high moment. It was nothing less than to bring off the most important books and papers of Congress. This Addison was an Englishman, and had been employed in some inferior department, under Mr. Thompson, the Secretary to the Congress.⁽²²⁾ He was then a prisoner; and the plan was, that he should be immediately exchanged, return in the usual manner to Philadelphia, and there resume his old employment. The Lieutenant was abundantly careful, and even scrupulous, in his inquiries concerning the man's character; on which head Major Beckwith expressed the most entire confidence; and observed, that Addison was equally cautious respecting the characters of those who were to attend him.

The matter was of importance; and Lieutenant Moody was confident that, though it might be difficult to perform his part of the business, yet it was not impracticable. He resolved, however, as Addison might think *him* an object worth betraying, that he should not be informed of his consenting to be of the party. If any other person did inform him of it, he was, to say the least, very imprudent. The Lieutenant pitched upon his only brother, of whom some mention has already been made, and another faithful American soldier, for this arduous enterprise. Their first instructions were to wait on Addison, and to bind him, as they themselves had just been bound, to mutual secrecy and

fidelity, by an *oath*, which the Lieutenant had always administered to his followers in all his expeditions, when the importance of the object rendered such an additional tie necessary ; and which, as it clearly shews the principles of honour and humanity on which it was his uniform pride and purpose to act, he begs leave here to subjoin, and it is as follows ; viz.

“ I, the undersigned A.B. do solemnly swear, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that I will stand by and be true to the persons joined with me in this expedition, and do every thing in my power to accomplish the purposes of it : and I do farther swear, that, in case of our taking any prisoners, I will do my endeavour to treat them as well as our situation will admit of : and I do farther swear, that, in case any accident should happen to me, and that I should be taken, I will not, even to save life, discover or betray any person joined with me, or any Loyalist who may befriend us with any information, advice, or other assistance : and I do farther swear, that I will not injure nor destroy any property even of a rebel, unless it be arms or ammunition, but faithfully pay the full price of anything we take from them, if they refuse to sell it : and I do farther swear, that I will not wound nor take away the life of any person whatever, unless they should attempt an escape when in our custody, or it shall otherwise be absolutely necessary for our own defence. *So help me God.*”

After taking this oath, a certain number of nights was agreed on in which Addison was to expect them ; and a certain place also appointed, where he was to meet them. In such an adventure, it was impossible to be exact to any

time ; but it was agreed, that if they failed of being at the place in any of the specified nights, he should no longer expect them ; and they farther promised, by proper means, to apprise him, if possible, if any accident should befall them, so as either to delay, or wholly put an end to their project.

Things being thus settled, Addison left New York in due form and manner, as was generally supposed, in order to return to his former friends and employment ; and, at the proper time, Lieutenant Moody and his friends followed him. The manner and circumstances of their march, it is not material nor proper here to relate : suffice it to say, that, on the night of the 7th of November, the first in the order of those that had been appointed, they arrived in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, but on the opposite side of the river. They found Addison already on the spot, waiting for them, according to appointment. Lieutenant Moody kept a little back, at such a distance as not to have his person distinguished, yet so as to be within hearing of the conversation that passed. His brother, and *Marr* his associate, on going up to Addison, found him apparently full of confidence, and in high spirits ; and everything seemed to promise success. He told them, that their plot was perfectly ripe for execution ; that he had secured the means of admission into the most private recesses of the State-house, so that he should be able the next evening to deliver to them the papers they were in quest of. They, on their parts, assured him, that every necessary precaution had been taken to secure and expedite their retreat ; and that

they had with them a *sure friend*, who would wait for them on that side of the river, who, as well as themselves, would die by his side, rather than desert him, should any disaster befall them. He replied, that they should find *him* as true and faithful to them and their cause, as they themselves could possibly be. Soon after they crossed the river together to Philadelphia ; and it is probable that, on the passage, Addison was for the first time informed, that this friend was Lieutenant Moody. Whether it was this discovery that put it first into his head, or whether he had all along intended it, and had already taken the necessary previous steps, the Lieutenant cannot certainly say ; but he assures himself, that every generous-minded man will be shocked when he reads, that this perfidious wretch had either sold, or was about to sell them to the Congress.

As the precise time in which they should be able to execute their plan could not be ascertained, it was agreed that Lieutenant Moody should remain at the Ferry-house, opposite to Philadelphia, till they returned. On going into the house, he told the mistress of it, by a convenient equivocation, that he was an officer of the *Jersey Brigade*, as he really was, though of that Jersey Brigade which was in the King's service. The woman understood him as speaking of a rebel corps, which was also called the *Jersey Brigade*. To avoid notice, he pretended to be indisposed ; and, going up stairs, he threw himself upon a bed, and here continued to keep his room, but always awake, and always on the watch. Next morning, about 11 o'clock, he saw a man walk hastily up to the house, and overheard him telling

some person he met at the door, that "there was the devil to pay in Philadelphia; that there had been a plot to break into the State-house, but that one of the party had betrayed the others; that two were already taken; and that a party of solóiers had just crossed the river with him, to seize their leader, who was said to be thereabouts." The Lieutenant felt himself to be too nearly interested in this intelligence, any longer to keep up the appearance of a sick man; and, seizing his pistols, he instantly ran down stairs, and made his escape.

He had not got a hundred yards from the house when he saw the soldiers enter it. A small piece of wood lay before him, in which he hoped at least to be out of sight; and he had sprung the fence in order to enter it. But it was already lined by a party of horse, with a view of cutting off his retreat. Thus surrounded, all hopes of flight were in vain; and to seek for a hiding place, in a clear, open field, seemed equally useless. Drowning persons are said to catch at straws; with hardly a hope of escaping so much as a moment longer undiscovered, he threw himself flat on his face in a ditch, which yet seemed of all places the least calculated for concealment, for it was without weeds or shrubs, and so shallow, that a quail might be seen in it. Once more he had reason to moralize on the vanity of all human contrivance and confidence; yet, as Providence ordered it, the improbability of the place proved the means of his security. He had lain there but a few minutes, when six of his pursuers passed within ten feet of him, and very diligently examined a thickety part of the ditch that was but a

few paces from him. With his pistols cocked, he kept his eye constantly on them, determining, that, as soon as he saw himself to be discovered by any one of them, he would instantly spring up, and sell his life as dearly as might be ; and, refusing to be taken alive, provoke, and, if possible, force them to kill him. Once or twice he thought he saw one of the soldiers look at him, and he was on the point of shooting the man ; but reflecting that possibly though the soldier did *see*, yet he might have the humanity not to *discover* him, as he would fain hope was really the case, his heart smote him for his rash resolution ; and he thanks God that he was restrained from putting it in execution.

From the ditch they went all round the adjacent field ; and, as Lieutenant Moody sometimes a little raised up his head, he saw them frequently running their bayonets into some small stacks of Indian corn-fodder. This suggested to him an idea, that if he could escape till night, a place they had already explored would be the securest shelter for him. When night came, he got into one of those stacks. The wind was high, which prevented the rustling of the leaves of the fodder, as he entered, from being heard by the people who were at that time passing close by him into the country, in quest of him. His position in this retreat was very uncomfortable, for he could neither sit nor lie down. In this erect posture, however, he remained two nights and two days, without a morsel of food, for there was no corn on the stacks, and, which was infinitely more intolerable, without drink. He must not relate, for reasons which may be easily

imagined, what became of him immediately after his coming out of this uneasy prison ; but he will venture to inform the reader, that, on the fifth night after his elopement from the Ferry-house, he searched the banks of the Delaware till he had the good fortune to meet with a small boat. Into this he jumped ; and having waited a little for the tide of flood, which was near, he pushed off, and rowed a considerable way up the river. (c) During this voyage he was several times accosted by people on the water ; but, having often found the benefit of putting on a fearless air, he endeavoured to answer them in their own way ; and recollecting some of the less polished phrases of the gentlemen of the oar, he used them pretty liberally ; and thus was suffered to pass on unsuspected. In due time he left his boat ; and, relying on the aid of Loyalists, some of whom he knew were everywhere to be found, he went into a part of the country least known to him, and the least likely for him to have thought of ; and at length, after many circuitous marches, all in the night, and through pathless courses, in about five days, he once more arrived safe in New York.

All these efforts for life were dictated, it would seem, rather by instinct than reason ; for, occupied as his mind had been with his own danger, and his own sufferings, he can truly say, his greatest uneasiness was on account of his brother. There was not a ray of hope that he could escape, and less, if possible, that he would be pardoned. He was

(c) He rowed up to Philadelphia : The place from which his pursuers first sate out in search of him ; and which he concluded would therefore be the last in which they would look for him.

the son of his old age to a most worthy and beloved father, who had himself been a soldier, and who loved and honoured the profession. Indeed he was a most amiable young man, as remarkable for the sweetness of his disposition as for his undaunted intrepidity. Excellent youth ! Every feeling heart will forgive the tear which is now dropped to thy memory, by thy sorrowing brother ! He perished by an ignominious death, in the 23d year of his age ; the news of which, as may naturally be supposed, well nigh brought the grey hairs of a venerable father with sorrow to the grave. It did not indeed immediately cost him his life, but it cost him, what is more valuable—his reason ! (22)

His fellow-prisoner was also sentenced to death ; but, on making some pretended discoveries, of no considerable moment, he was reprieved. Lieutenant Moody is sensible it contains no information that can interest the reader ; yet, as he preserves it as a precious *relic*, he persuades himself every man who is a brother will forgive his inserting an extract or two from his brother's last letter, dated November 12, 1781, from the *New Gaol Dungeon, Philadelphia*.

“ Dear brother,

Let me intreat you not to grieve at my fate, and the fate of my brother-soldier. Betrayed by the man on whom we depended to execute the plan proposed by Captain Beckwith, we were taken up as *spies* ; and have been tried and condemned, and are to die to morrow. I pray you to forgive him, as I do, and Laurence Marr also, as freely as we hope to be forgiven by our Maker.—One more request I have to make to

you is, that, taking warning by my fate, you will not hereafter so often venture yourself out of the British lines. I am in irons; but, thanks to the Almighty, I still have the liberty of thought and speech. O! may I make a good use of them, and be prepared, as I ought to be, for eternity! Sentence has not been passed on us above two hours, all which time I have employed in prayer, as I will continue to do to the last moment; and, I bless God, I feel quite cheerful!"

Lieutenant Moody cannot in justice close this plain and artless narrative, already spun out to too great a length, without bearing his public testimony, feeble as it may be, in favour of, and returning his thanks, as he now most cordially does, to those brave, loyal Americans, whom, though in the ranks only, he shall always think it the greatest honour of his life to have commanded in these expeditions. They were, in general, men of some property; and, without a single exception, men of principle. They fought for what appeared to be the true interest of their country, as well as to regain their little plantations, and to live in peace under a constitution, which they knew by experience to be auspicious to their happiness. Their conduct in their new profession, as soldiers, verifies their character; they have been brave, and they have been humane. Their honesty and honour have been uniformly conspicuous. It was a first principle, in all their excursions, never to make war against private property; and this has been religiously observed. Some striking instances of their forbearance might be given, if necessary, even when they have been provoked to retaliate by private wrongs and personal insults.

And here it ought to be mentioned, with the utmost gratitude and pleasure, that, though Mr. Moody, in the course of his adventures, was often obliged to put his life into the hands of the Loyalists, in different parts of the country, he never was disappointed or deceived by any of them. In the year 1777, he continued among them more than three months at a time, and near as long in 1778. He knew their characters, and could safely confide in them. They were men of such inflexible attachment to Government, that no temptations could induce them to betray their trust. Though many of them were reduced to indigence and distress, and they knew that almost any price might be obtained for giving up so obnoxious a person, yet they were so far from betraying him, that they often ran great hazards in giving him assistance. Surely such merit as this is worthy of esteem and admiration ; and it is humbly hoped, that the many thousands in the colonies who possess it, will not be deserted by Government, and consigned over to ruin and wretchedness, without an *absolute necessity*.

It is with the utmost concern Mr. Moody has heard of the doubts and debates that have been agitated in England concerning the number and the zeal of the Loyalists in America. It might be uncharitable, and possibly unjust, to say, that every man who has entertained such doubts, has some sinister purposes to serve by them ; but it would be blindness in the extreme not to see, that they were first raised by men who had other objects at heart than the interests of their country. Men who have performed their own duty feebly or falsely, naturally seek to excuse them-

selves by throwing the blame upon others. It would ill become an obscure individual to obtrude his opinion upon others ; but any honest man *may*, and when he thinks it would serve his country, *should* relate what he has seen. The writer of this narrative has already disclaimed all pretensions to any extraordinary share of political sagacity ; but he has common sense—he can see, and he can hear. He has had more opportunities than most men of seeing, and hearing the true state of loyalty in the *middle* colonies ; and he most solemnly declares it to be his opinion, that a very great majority of the people there are at this time loyal, and would still do and suffer almost anything, rather than remain under the tyranny of their present rulers. Let but the war be undertaken and conducted on some *plan*, and with some spirit ; let but commanders be employed who will encourage their services, and leave them under no apprehensions of being deserted and betrayed ; and *then*, if they do not exert themselves, and very effectually, let every advocate they have had, or may have, be reprobated as a fool or a knave, or both together—and let the Americans continue to feel the worst punishment their worst enemies can wish them—nominal independency, but real slavery.

Perhaps the honest indignation of the Writer may have carried him too far ; but on such a subject, who, in *his* circumstances, could speak coolly, and with any temper ? That he speaks only what he really thinks, no man, who is acquainted with him, will doubt ; and if, after all, he is mistaken, he errs with more and better opportunities of being

right, than almost any other person has ever had. He has given the strongest proofs of his sincerity ; he has sacrificed his all ; and, little as it may be thought by others, it was enough for him, and he was contented with it. He made this sacrifice, because he sincerely believed what he declares and professes. If the same were to do over again, he would again as cheerfully make the same sacrifice. He trusts, therefore, it will not be deemed presumptuous in him to say, that he cannot decently be contradicted in these matters by any man, who has neither had such opportunities of informing his judgment, nor given such unequivocal proofs of his sincerity. The Writer has certainly no bye-ends to serve ; he is not an ambitious man, nor avaricious. The profession of arms is foreign from the habits of one who has lived, and wishes only to live, in quiet, under his own vine and his own fig-tree ; and he can truly say, that, if his Sovereign should be graciously pleased to confer on him the highest military honours, he would most gladly forego them all to be once more re-instated in his own farm, with his wife and children around him, as he was seven years ago.

He has hitherto received but a very trifling compensation*

* During the first year he served for nothing, not having the least thought of becoming a soldier, or the least doubt of General Howe's suppressing the rebellion long before the end of it. In the second, third and fourth, he received pay as Ensign ; and in the fifth, as Lieutenant. Beside his pay, upon his taking the first mail, he received one hundred guineas, which he divided equally with his three associates. Upon his taking the second mail, he received two hundred guineas, one hundred

for his services and sufferings ; and he looks for no more than will free him from indigence, and enable him more effectually to serve his country. In enlisting and paying men for public services, he has expended what was saved from the wreck of his own fortune to a considerable amount, and he was reduced to the necessity of borrowing from those, whose better circumstances enabled them, and whose generous spirits disposed them, to hazard something in the cause of their country. This may be called *enthusiasm* ; be it so.—Mr. Moody will not conceal his wish, that the world abounded with such enthusiasts. Not his fortune only, but his constitution, has been greatly impaired by the exertions he has made. His physicians recommended a sea-voyage, a change of air, and a respite of his fatigues and anxiety of mind, as the only remedies left him ; and the late Commander in Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, (24) was pleased to second their recommendation, by politely inviting him to England. He acknowledges, with gratitude, that their kind intentions with regard to his *health* have not been wholly frustrated. He trusts he shall soon be able, and he would rejoice to be called *by the service*, to return to America. He would go with recruited spirits, and unabated ardour ; for, rather than

of which was for himself. And this was the whole of what he ever received—except thirty guineas advanced to him by General Robertson, in order to fit him out for the expedition for the taking of Governor Livingston. He does not mention twenty two guineas he has received here in England, because that was merely to pay a bill of charges incurred in one of his expeditions.

outlive the freedom of his country, it is his resolution, with King William of glorious memory, even *to die in the last ditch*.

JAMES MOODY.

Wardour-street, No. 97.

Nov. 1782.







WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Governor of New Jersey.



APPENDIX.

The following *Certificates*, selected from a great number of others in the Author's Possession, are presumed to be sufficient to establish the truth of his *Narrative*.

No. I.

The Events related in the following Narrative are so very extraordinary, that many Gentlemen, who are unacquainted with the country, and with the several circumstances, might doubt of the truth of them. I think it therefore a piece of justice due to the merit of Mr. Moody's services, to declare, that I believe this Narrative to be a true account of his proceedings.

WM. FRANKLIN, (23)
late Governor of New Jersey.

No. II.

I do hereby certify, that Mr. James Moody came within the British lines in April 1777, and brought in with him upwards of seventy men, all of whom, except four, entered into my brigade : That in June following, he was sent into the rebel country, for the purpose of enlisting men for his Majesty's service, with orders to continue there until a favourable opportunity offered for him to disarm the rebels, and arm the loyalists, and, with what men he could collect, to join the Royal army; but he was prevented from putting that plan into execution, by our army's taking a different route from what was expected : That Mr. Moody, being thus disappointed, assisted by two of his neighbours, soon after embodied about an hundred men, with whom he attempted to join the British army, but was unsuccessful : That afterwards he made two successful excursions into the rebel country, and brought with him from Sussex County about sixty able-bodied recruits, nearly all of whom entered into my brigade : That, after this time, he made many trips into New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and brought in with him many good men, and gained many articles of important intelligence, concerning the movements of Colonel Butler, the real state of the rebel country, the situation and condition of the rebel armies under the command of their Generals Washington, Sullivan, &c.: And, that while Mr. Moody was under my immediate direction, he also destroyed a considerable magazine of stores near Black Point, taking

prisoners two Colonels, one Major, and several other officers, and broke open the Sussex County jail, rescuing a number of loyalists that were imprisoned in it, one of whom was under sentence of death : besides performing many other important services.

I do also certify, that, in the month of October 1777, the said Mr. Moody was mustered as an Ensign, but received no pay as such till April 1778 : That he continued his exertions under my direction till 1780, about which time he was taken from the regiment, which prevented his being appointed to a company in it, as it was in general believed the Commander in Chief intended doing something better for him : That I have every reason to believe Mr. Moody received nothing from government to reward him for his extraordinary services, or to indemnify him for his extraordinary expences, till 1780 : That from the time of his joining the army in April 1777, till his departure for Europe in May 1782, he did, upon every occasion, exert himself with the utmost zeal in support of his Majesty's cause in America : And, on the whole, that I believe all that is related in his printed Narrative to be true, without exaggeration.

London, January 30th, 1783.

CORTLAND SKINNER, (26)

Brigr. General, &c.

No. III.

I do hereby certify, that during the time I was Commandant of New York, Mr. James Moody went sundry times into the rebel country, to gain intelligence of the situation and circumstances of the rebels : That at one time he was absent five weeks in different parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey ; and brought authentic and full information of the situation and resources of the several detachments of the rebel army under the command of the Generals Washington and Gates, in the year 1779, and the prospect the rebels had at that time of procuring a loan from France.

That in each of his excursions he obtained, and regularly reported to me, very accurate information of the rebel country, and appeared to be very zealous and attentive in promoting his Majesty's service ; and from the knowledge I have of his services and sufferings, I cannot but recommend him as a person who merits encouragement and support from the British Government.

JAS. PATTISON, (27)

Major General.

No. IV.

New York, May 11th, 1782.

Lieutenant James Moody, of the first batallion of Brigadier General Skinner's Brigade of Provincial troops, having applied to me for a Certificate of some particular services which he has rendered in America ; and which, from their having been attempted and in a great measure executed during General Knyphausen's having the command within this district, I feel much satisfaction in complying with the request of this Gentleman, and in expressing that Lieutenant Moody, in two instances in particular, conducted two small parties, one to Jersey and the other to Philadelphia, with much personal risk, great spirit, and good conduct : and I ever found him desirous of manifesting his zeal for the good of the King's service.

GEO. BECKWITH, (2s)

Major in the Army,

Aid-de-Camp to his Excellency,

General Knyphausen.

No. V.

New York, May 10th, 1782.

By serving in different public departments in the army in North America, under the command of his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, I have had opportunities of knowing of several military exploits, very essential and contributory to his Majesty's service, being performed by Lieutenant James Moody, of the Provincial corps, called the First Batallion of New Jersey Volunteers, in the execution of which, he not only underwent the most severe hardships, but encountered almost every possible risque of his life, as well from these hardships (which naturally affected his constitution), as from the enemy. He however persevered, in defiance of every obstacle, with such an ardour and resolution, as plainly evinced an uncommon zeal and attachment to his King and Country.

STEP. P. ADYE,

D. Judge Advocate.

No. VI.

New York, 11th May 1782.

I, the Subscriber, do hereby certify, That shortly after Major General Pattison was appointed Commandant of New York, and I was employed as his Secretary, Lieutenant James Moody, of the First Batallion, New Jersey Volunteers, having returned from the country, where he had been engaged in collecting intelligence, &c., appeared at the Commandant's Office, and communicated to me, for the information of General Pattison, a variety of accounts relative to the situation of the rebel army, &c., which I laid before the General.

From this time an intimacy commenced between us ; and Mr. Moody afterwards, previously and confidentially consulted me on the practicability of several excursions, he intended to make in the rebel country ; and particularly with respect to his intention to make Governor Livingston a prisoner. Mentioning his want of cash to carry into execution so essential a service, I offered to supply him with twenty-five guineas for this purpose, and to be his security, or to borrow at interest a larger sum, it being out of my power to advance more ; but being supplied with money by his Excellency Lieutenant General Robertson, ⁽²⁹⁾ he was enabled to go out without my assistance. Mr. Moody's failing in this attempt was owing to one of his party being taken ; by which means Mr. Livingston ⁽³⁰⁾ discovered Mr. Moody's being out, took the alarm, and raised the country ;

and with difficulty Mr. Moody escaped falling into his hands : but was afterwards unfortunately taken by a party of rebels, and carried to the provost-guard at Mr. Washington's Head Quarters, where he was confined, and from whence he made his escape, and returned to New York.

Mr. Moody afterwards made various excursions into the country, and many miles without the British lines : took several rebel mails, containing intelligence of great importance, and brought them safe to New York. In these excursions he run great risques of falling into the hands of the rebels, and his health was much exposed from lying many nights and days in woods and swamps to avoid a discovery. In these excursions, Mr. Moody disregarded either the seasons, the fatigue, or the risques he run.

And on the whole of his conduct, I have every reason to believe him entirely disinterested, and actuated only by that zeal for his Majesty's service which he has on every occasion exhibited — From Mr. Moody's declaration, and other evidence, I have every reason to believe, that the compensations he has from time to time received, were by no means, adequate to the expences incurred on these occasions. And I know that Mr. Moody has, at his own expence and credit, supported those, whose health from a participation of toil and fatigue with him, on these excursions, have been impaired.

JOHN L. C. ROOME,

Secretary to Major General Pattison,
late Commandant of New York, &c.

No. VII.

“ Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. *Brown*, (a very respectable Clergyman of New Jersey, now in New York) to the Rev. Dr. Chandler, dated May 10th, 1782.

“ You will receive Mr. Moody as my particular friend, and as one most firmly attached to his Majesty, and the constitution both in church and state. He has both done and suffered great things from a principle of loyalty. You may give full credit to all he says, and if he tells you some things seemingly incredible, still you are to believe him. He is honest, sober and firm—never intimidated by danger, and of undeviating probity and honour.”

“ Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. *Inglis*,^(s1) Rector of New York, to the same person, dated May 11th, 1782.

“ Mr. Moody is one of the most active partizans we have, and perhaps has run more risque than any other man during the war. He has brought in three rebel mails, and has often been in the greatest perils among false brethren. The history of his adventures will entertain and astonish you. He goes home at Sir Henry Clinton's desire, who

has promised to do something for him adequate to his services."

In justice to Mr. Moody, I think it my duty to furnish him with the above *extracts*.

August 23d, 1782.

T. B. CHANDLER. (32)





WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.



NOTES.

(1). This was perhaps the Col. Barton who in 1777 was captured on Staten Island with about forty of his men, and sent to New Jersey, and who retired to Nova Scotia after the war, where he died about the year 1790.

(2). WILLIAM HUTCHINSON was, in 1782. Captain-Lieutenant of the First Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers. After the war he received half pay, and lived for a while in New Brunswick. He subsequently moved to Upper Canada, and died there.

(3). SIR WILLIAM HOWE was born about the year 1729. He was appointed Lieut.-Colonel in 1757. He served in the expedition against Louisbourg, and was subsequently at the siege

of Quebec. In the year 1761 he was in the expedition against Belle-Isle, on the Coast of France, where he held the rank of Brig.-General. In the year 1762 he was Adjutant-General of the Army against Havana. He became Colonel of the 23d or Royal Welsh Fusileers on the 11th of May, 1775, about which time he arrived in Boston as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in America. He commanded at the battle of Bunker Hill, and in August of the year following landed at Staten Island and participated in the operations of the army that year. He became Lieut.-General August 27, 1777; defeated the Americans at Germantown in October, and was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton in 1778. On his return to England he published a defence of his conduct while in America. He was promoted to the rank of General in 1793, and in the year 1808 became Governor of Plymouth. He died without issue in 1814, at the age of about 85.

(4). COL. JOHN BUTLER, of Tryon, now Montgomery County, N. Y., was before the Revolution in close connection with Sir John, Sir William, and Col. Guy Johnson, and followed their political fortunes. At the breaking out of hostilities in the Colonies, he commanded a regiment of New York militia, and took at once an active part for the King. He made himself infamous for the deeds of rapine and murder committed by him and his corps. He was at the Massacre of Wyoming, where he commanded 1600 incarnate fiends, whose brutality and bloodthirstiness was almost unparalleled. At the restoration of peace, he went to Upper Canada, where he still resided in 1796. He was well rewarded by the King for his services, receiving the Agency of Indian Affairs, besides a

handsome pecuniary provision for himself and children. The time of his death we have been unable to learn.

(5). The following account of this expedition appears in the Tory papers of the day :

"NEW-YORK, June 16

On the 9th day of June instant, a party of volunteers went down to Sandy Hook, where they were joined by a small detachment of Col. Barton's regiment of New Jersey Volunteers, from whence they proceeded to the Gut, about four miles distant; but as the wind blew very hard, the boats that were provided did not come up, and they were obliged to return to the Light House. On the 10th, being ready to cross the Gut, it was agreed by the party, that Lieut. Okerson, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, should give them directions. They advanced undiscovered with fifty-six men so far as Fenton Falls, about ten miles from the landing, where they halted just as the day broke, near the rebel headquarters at the back of the town; but not knowing the house where their main guard was kept, they determined to surround three houses at the same time. Captain Hayden, of General Skinner's, proceeded to the house of Mr. McKnight, a Rebel Captain; Eusign Moody to the house of Mr. Hendrickson, a Colonel; and Lieut. Throgmorton to one Shadwick's, a rebel Captain. The three parties came nearly at the same time to the place where the main guard of the Rebels was kept, but missed them, they being on a scout. They made Col. Hendrickson, Lieut.-Col. Wikoff, Capts. Shadwick and McKnight, with several privates, prisoners; and after proceeding one mile further, took a Major Van Brunt. They collected about three hundred sheep and horses belonging to the rebels. A warm

engagement ensued at Jumping Inlet, and continued an hour, when they heard the Captain of the Rebels declare, that he would give them no quarter, and soon after he received two balls; upon his falling the volunteers charged with their bayonets, vanquished the rebels, and took possession of the ground where the dead and wounded lay. When they had crossed the river, they observed a man with a flag riding down from the rebels, who asked permission to carry off the dead and wounded, which was immediately granted. The man with the flag informed them that the whole of their party who were engaged, were killed or wounded. They returned to Sandy-Hook the same evening with their prisoners, and a quantity of live stock, &c. The names of the fifteen who engaged the rebels are as follows:

Captain Samuel Hayden, Lieut. Thomas Okerson, Lieutenant Hutchinson, Ensign Moody, first battallion General Skinner's; Lieut. John Baskirk, of Colonel Ritzema's; five privates of Gen. Skinner's; two sailors and a coxswain of one of the boats; Marphet Taylor, William Gillian, John Worthley, volunteers.

In the engagement, one officer and two privates of the volunteers were wounded."

Rivington's Royal Gazette, Wednesday, June 16, 1779.

(6). MAJOR-GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN, the eldest son of an Irish emigrant, who settled in Massachusetts about the year 1723. was born in the year 1741, and was at first a farmer, and afterwards studied law in New Hampshire. In 1774 he was a member of the 1st Congress, was appointed Brigadier-General in 1775, and commanded at Winter Hill, near Boston, after the battle of Bunker Hill. In June, 1776, he superseded Ar-

nold in command in Canada, and on the 10th of August following was promoted to the rank of Major-General. He succeeded Gen. Greene in command of the division of the American Army on Long Island, and was taken prisoner in the battle of the 27th of August following. In November he was exchanged for the English General Prescott, and in August, 1777, he executed an expedition against Staten Island. In September and October he took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and in 1776 was detached to Rhode Island. In 1779 he was sent to Western New York to chastise the Six Nations, a duty which he successfully accomplished, and then resigned his command. He resumed the practice of the law, and was a member of the convention that formed the State Constitution of New Hampshire. In 1785 he was a member of Congress, for the three years following; was President of the State, and in October, 1789, was appointed District Judge. He died at his seat in Durham, N. H., January 23, 1795, at the age of 54 years.

(7). GEN. HORATIO GATES was a native of England, and was born in 1727. He entered the British service in early life, and rose to the rank of Major. He was aid to Gen. Monckton at the capture of Martinico, and was with Braddock at his defeat in 1755. At the close of that war he settled in Virginia, where he resided till the commencement of the revolution in 1775, when he received from Congress the appointment of Adjutant-General, and accompanied General Washington to Cambridge. In June, 1776, he was advanced to the command of the Army in Canada. General Schuyler succeeded him a few months in 1777, but in August he resumed his station, and in the following October revived the hopes of his country, and

overthrew those of the British by the capture of Burgoyne and his army. In June, 1780, he was appointed to the command of the Southern department, but being soon after defeated by Cornwallis at Camden, was in consequence superseded by General Greene. He was restored to his command in 1782. After the termination of the war he resided on his farm in Virginia until 1790, when he moved to New York, and died there in 1806 at the age of 77.

(c). WILLIAM LIVINGSTON was the son of Philip Livingston, and was descended from a Scotch family, and born in Albany, N. Y., in November, 1723. At the age of 14 he entered Yale College, and graduated at that institution in 1741, with the highest honors. After leaving college he commenced the study of the law, in 1748 was admitted to the bar, and soon rose to eminence in his profession. After his removal to New Jersey, he was chosen a member of the first Congress in 1774, having previously signalized himself by his writings against the encroachments of Britain. On the deposition of William Franklin and the formation of a new Constitution, he was elected Governor of New Jersey, and continued in the office till his death. He was a delegate to the convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, and was one of its most able members. He was plain and simple in his habits, and unostentatious in his manners. Besides his political writings, he was the author of some essays upon miscellaneous topics, and a poem on the "Choice of a Rural Life." He died at his seat in Elizabethtown, N. J., July 25th, 1790, at the age of 67.

(9). "TRENTON, June 14.

The following extract is taken from a letter received by a gentleman in Morris Town from his friend in Sussex County.

"On Sunday morning the 4th [June] instant, about one o'clock, Major Hoops having reason to believe that disaffected persons were in his neighbourhood, discovered a fellow in company with a woman near his house: he immediately questioned them; the woman prevaricated, and the man hesitating in his answers, gave him suspicions: upon which he desired them to walk into the house, that he might be fully assured of what they told him. Major Hoops on his way to the house looking round, found the man running away; he pursued and took him, not without wounding the fellow through the arm, with a small sword, upon seeing a cocked pistol in his hand. He was discovered to be a Levy soldier in his regimentals, belonging to the corps of Jersey Volunteers; on bringing him to the light, the Major presented one of the pistols he had taken from him to his head, and resolutely declared he would put him to death if he did not inform him of his designs in coming to this part of the country. He said that about three weeks ago he came out with Lieut. Moody, and another, from New York, who had received instructions from General Knyplausen, but he kept them secret: only hinting that he was to take some person off within two miles of Morris-Town, but finding that he was not at home, nor would be before the 15th of this month, they came up here in order to pass their time away till the person returned: That he had left Moody in the road near the Moravian Mills; that he had liberty to go to his uncle's, one Matthew Lowrey, where he was then going had not Major Hoops disappointed him: and that he was to meet Moody and his companion on the top of Jenny Jump mountain

on Thursday night, when they were to proceed on their intended expedition.

"After leaving him under guard, and collecting his own people, and a few of his neighbours, pursuit was given to Moody, but unfortunately could not make any discoveries."

New Jersey Gazette. June 14. 1780.

(10) LIEUT.-GEN. JOHN BURGOYNE was the natural son of Lord Bingley. He entered the British army at an early age. While quartered with his regiment at Preston, he married Lady Charlotte Stanley, whose father, the Earl of Derby, was so incensed at the match, that he threatened utterly to discard her. A reconciliation, however, took place, and the Earl allowed him £300 a year during his life, and by his will bequeathed her a legacy of £25,000. The influence of the family to which Burgoyne had thus become allied, tended materially to accelerate his professional advancement. In 1762 he acted as a Brigadier-General of the British forces, which were sent for the defense of Portugal against France and Spain, where he showed considerable military skill. In 1775 he was appointed to a command in America, whence he returned the following year. In 1777 he resumed his post and issued a proclamation to the Indians, in which he invited them to his standard, but deprecated with due severity the cruel practice of scalping. The pompous turgidity of style in which this address was couched, excited the ridicule of the Americans, and procured for him the soubriquet of "*Chrononhotonthologos*." His first operations were successful; he dislodged the Americans from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and took 128 pieces of cannon, all their armed vessels and batteries, as well as a considerable part of their baggage, ammunition, provisions, and military stores. His subsequent career was truly

disastrous ; his troops suffered much from bad roads, inclement weather and a scarcity of provisions ; the Indians who had previously assisted him, deserted, and the Americans under Gen. Gates surrounded him with a superior force, to which, though victorious in two engagements, he was at length compelled to capitulate at Saratoga, with the whole of his army. This event, which rendered him equally odious to the British Government and the people at large, was for some time the leading topic of the press, and numberless lampoons appeared in which the General's conduct was most severely satirized. The punsters of the day, taking advantage of the American General's name, amused themselves unmercifully at Burgoyne's expense, but of all their effusions, which for the most part were more virulent than pointed, the following harmless epigram, poor as it is, appears to have been the best :

" Burgoyne, unconscious of th' impending fates,
Could cut his way thro' *woods*, but not thro' *Gates*."

In May, 1778, he returned to England on his parole, but was denied an audience by the King, and he in vain solicited a court-martial. In 1779 he was dismissed the service, but was restored three years afterwards, and appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and sworn in one of the privy council of that kingdom. He died at his house in Hertford Street, suddenly, of a fit of the gout, August 4, 1794.

(11). MAJ.-GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE was born in Chester County, Penn., on the 1st January, 1745, and was educated as a Surveyor. In 1773 he was chosen to a seat in the Legislature of his State, and took an active part in opposing the injustice of Great Britain. In 1775 he entered the army as a Colonel, and

accompanied General Thompson to Canada. He was afterwards under Gen. Gates, at Ticonderoga, and was subsequently advanced to the rank of Brig.-General. In the campaign of 1777 he acted an important part. At the battle of Brandywine he made a brave defense at the ford against the attack of Gen. Knyphausen, but a few days after, being detached with 1500 men to hang on the British rear, he was surprised and defeated. He afterwards fought at Germantown and Monmouth, and in 1779 commanded the troops at the successful storming of Stony Point, where he acquired great honor. In 1781 he served in Georgia, where he was victorious in several battles with the French and Indians. In 1787 he was a member of the Convention of Pennsylvania which ratified the Constitution of the United States. In 1792 he was appointed to the command of the western army as successor of St. Clair, and at the battle of Miami, in 1794, he gained a complete victory over the Indians, compelling them to sue for peace. He remained in that region till the 15th Dec. 1796, when he died at Presque Isle in his 52d year. His remains were afterwards brought to his native State, where they were interred, and a handsome monument erected to his memory. He was one of the most brilliant officers of the revolution, and one of the most popular.

The following account of the capture of Mr. Moody we find in the papers of the day :

(12). " CHATHAM, August 2.

We have the pleasure to assure our readers, that Ensign Moody, a refugee from Sussex to the British army, and who was lately sent from New York with a party of ruffians for the purpose of burning Sussex gaol, of taking or

assassinating Governor Livingston and the persons who were active in apprehending the three spies lately executed, and of inlisting our inhabitants in the service of the British tyrant, was lately captured himself by the vigorous exertions of Capt. Lawrence of the New York State levies, near the English Neighbourhood. The instructions found upon Moody, in order to give the better colour to his private directions for inlisting and assassinating, and to prevent his being treated as a spy from the military stile, what he was to produce, in case of his being taken prisoner, was in the following terms :

‘ Head-Quarters, May tenth, New York, 1780.

‘ Sir :

You are hereby directed and authorized to proceed without loss of time, with a small detachment, into the Jerseys, by the most convenient route, in order to carry off the person of Governor Livingston, or any other acting in public station, whom you may fall in with in the course of your march, or any person whom you may meet with, and whom it may be necessary to secure for your own security, and that of the party under your command.

‘ Should you succeed in taking Governor Livingston, you are to treat him according to his station, as far as lies in your power ; nor are you, upon any account, to offer any violence to his person. You will use your endeavour to get possession of his papers, which you will take care of, and, upon your return, deliver at head-quarters.

By order of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Knyphausen.

GEO. BECKWITH.

Aid-de-Camp.

To Ensign Moody, 1st battalion }
New-Jersey Volunteers. ’ }

“It is said that all Moody’s party, except one, who attempted to swim the North river in his flight, and is supposed to be drowned, have been either captured or killed by the activity of our inhabitants; and as to the famous or infamous *Ensign* himself, the great taker of Governors and general gaol deliverer of Sussex, he is at present safely lodged at West-Point; and if he has justice done him, it is generally supposed, as our correspondent observes, that he will be hanged for a spy, for inlisting our citizens in the British army, and coming with a party so small as nine, and with weapons concealed, either of which are, according to the present construction of all the nations of Europe, characteristic of a Spy.

It is reported that another party was sent from Staten-Island last week for the express purpose of assassinating his Excellency our Governor. Ought not such bloody measures to be retaliated upon the enemy?”

N. Jersey Journal, Wed. Augt. 2, 1780,

(13). MAJ.-GEN. ROBERT HOWE was born in Brunswick, North Carolina. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he espoused the American cause, and was appointed Colonel of the 1st North Carolina regiment, and at once took the field. In December 1775 he joined Col. Woodford at Norfolk, and was engaged with him in the contest with Lord Dunmore and his party. On the 29th January 1776, he was appointed a Brig.-Gen. of the Continental Army, and ordered to Virginia. In the year 1778 he was placed in chief command of the Southern troops, and was engaged in the expedition against Florida and also in the defense of Savannah, in both of which he was unsuccessful. In consequence of his failure, he was severely censured at the time. In 1780 he was for a time

Commander at West Point. The time of his death is unknown to us.

(14). MAJ.-GEN. BENEDICT ARNOLD was born in Norwich, Connecticut, January 3, 1741, and was brought up as a surgeon. He quitted his profession for the sea, and was for some years engaged as master of a trading vessel. At the commencement of the Revolution, he espoused the cause of the colonies, and took command of a company of volunteers at New Haven. He was afterwards at the siege of Quebec, where he received a wound in the leg, and upon the failure of the expedition, he withdrew the remains of his forces to Crown Point. He was afterwards employed on Lake Champlain, where he greatly distinguished himself, as he did also subsequently at the battle of Saratoga, where his services contributed not a little to the success of the American, over Burgoyne. Some time after this he was placed in command of West Point, and then began to concert the means of putting this strong fort in the hands of the enemy. In the attempt to carry out the nefarious plot, poor Andre was sacrificed, and Arnold with difficulty escaped on board a British sloop-of-war. He was made a Brig.-General by the British, and employed by them in several enterprises, particularly at New London, Conn., and Norfolk, Va. On the return of peace, he went to England, and died in London, June 14, 1801. His remains were interred at Brompton.

(15). The reader will recollect that at this very time, Arnold was executing the treason which has made his name infamous. His barbarous treatment of Mr. Moody was exercised for no other purpose than as a subterfuge to lull suspicion and cover the villainy of the traitor.

(16). GEN. EDWARD MATHEW entered the British army as an Ensign in the Cold Stream Guards, January 24, 1746, received his Lieutenancy December 17, 1751, and became Captain and Lieut.-Colonel March 20, 1762. He was appointed Colonel in the army March 20, 1775, and eight days after, Aid-de-Camp to the King. He came to America in 1776, in command of a brigade of the Guards, with the rank of Brigadier-Gen., and in 1778 he commanded the party sent to destroy Gosport, Virginia. In February, 1779, he was advanced to the rank of Major-Gen. He became Colonel of the 62d regiment the same year, and was stationed at or near New York in 1780, in which year he returned home. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the West Indies, with the local rank of Lieut.-Gen., Nov. 20, 1782, and in 1783 became Governor-General of Grenada and the Southern Carribee Islands. In the year 1797 he was advanced to the rank of General in the army, and died at Clanville-lodge, Hants, December 26, 1805, after a few days' illness, in the 78th year of his age.

(17). WILLIAM BURTIS, of Westchester County, N. Y., a refugee, was sent in 1779 a prisoner from White Plains by Col. Burr, who wrote Malcolm that Burtis wished to secure the favor of the Whigs by giving them information. In 1780, Burtis was confined at West Point under sentence of death, for communication with the British General Mathew. At the restoration of peace, he went to New Brunswick, and died at St. John, in 1835, aged 75 years.

(18). COL. ALEXANDER SCAMMEL was born in Mendon, now Milford, in the State of Massachusetts, about the year 1748,

and graduated at Harvard College in 1769. He was subsequently employed for some time as a teacher of a school, and also as a surveyor of lands, assisting Capt. Holland in surveys for his map of New Hampshire. He also studied law for a while in the office of General Sullivan. In 1775, he was appointed Brigade Major, and in 1776, Colonel of the third battalion of continental troops raised in New Hampshire. In 1771, Colonel Scammel commanded the third regiment of that State, and was wounded in the desperate battle of Saratoga. In 1780, the levy of New Hampshire was reduced to two regiments, when he commanded the first. He was afterwards appointed Adjutant-General of the American armies, in which office he was deservedly popular, and secured the esteem of the officers of the army generally. With this situation he finally became dissatisfied, because it often excused him from those dangers to which others were exposed; and preferring a more active command, he was put at the head of a regiment of light infantry. On the 30th of September, 1781, at the memorable and successful siege of Yorktown, he was officer of the day; and while reconnoitering the situation of the enemy, he was surprised by a party of their horse; and after being taken prisoner, was inhumanly wounded by them. He was conveyed to the city of Williamsburgh, Virginia, where he died Oct. 6, 1781, at the age of 33. Col. Scammel was an officer of uncommon merit. He was amiable and winning in his manners, and his loss was deeply regretted.

(19). GEN. OLIVER DE LANCEY, of the British Regular Army, the youngest of the two sons of Brig.-Gen. Oliver De Lancey, of New York, by his wife Phila, daughter of David Franks, of Philadelphia, was born in 1753, in the city of New York.

He was educated for the army, and was commissioned a Cornet in the 14th Dragoons in 1776, while pursuing military studies in England. he being at that time in his thirteenth year. In May, 1773, he was made a Captain in the 17th Light Dragoons—a regiment in which he remained for the long period of forty-nine years, holding successively every rank in it, and dying as its Colonel, when a full General in the British army. Previous to the outbreak of hostilities in America, he wrote and published in New York, a pamphlet entitled “Considerations on the propriety of imposing Taxes on the British Colonies,” which met with favor, and passed through several editions in London. During the American war, he served with distinction on Long Island, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and also in the Carolinas, where he participated in the operations at the siege of Charleston. At the battle of Brooklyn, he led the advance of the British forces, seizing and holding the pass through which Clinton’s army advanced against and forced the American lines, thereby obtaining the victory. He was the intimate personal friend of Major André, and succeeded him as Adjutant General of the British army in America. In 1781 he was promoted to the Lieut.-Colonelcy of the 17th Light Dragoons. In 1790 he was appointed Deputy-Adjutant-General of the entire English forces, with the rank of Colonel. Four years afterwards he was made a Major-General, and at the same time appointed by Mr. Pitt, Barrack-Master-General of the British empire, an office which he held for ten years. In May, 1795, he was promoted to the Colonelcy of the 17th Light Dragoons, in 1801 he attained the rank of Lieut.-General, and in 1812 became a full General of the British army. He sat for many years in the British Parliament at the time when Pitt, Fox and Burke graced the House of Commons. Gen. De Lancey died at Edinburgh, in

Scotland, Sept. 3, 1822, and his remains were interred in St. John's Chapel in that city.

(20). JEAN BAPTISTE DONATIEN DE VIMEUR, COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, Marshal of France, was born at Vendôme in 1725, and entered the army at the age of sixteen. In 1746 he became Aid-de-Camp to Louis Phillipe, Duke of Orleans, and afterwards, obtaining the command of the regiment of La Marche, distinguished himself at the battle of Lafeldt, where he was wounded. He afterwards obtained fresh laurels at Creveldt, Minden, Corbach, and Clostercamp; and having been made Lieut.-General, was in 1780 sent with an army of 6,000 men to the assistance of the Americans. He acted in concert with Washington, first against Gen. Clinton in New York, and then against Cornwallis in Virginia. He was raised to the rank of Marshal by Louis XVI, and after the revolution, was appointed to the command of the army of the North, but he was superseded by more active officers, and being calumniated by the popular journalists, he addressed to the Legislative Assembly a vindication of his conduct. A decree of approbation was consequently passed in May 1792, and he retired to his estate near Vendôme, with a determination to interfere no more with public affairs. He was subsequently arrested, and narrowly escaped suffering death under the tyranny of Robespierre. In 1803 he was presented to Buonaparte, who granted him a pension and the cross of grand officer of the legion of honor. His death took place in 1807, at the age of 61. His "Memoirs" were published in 1809.

(21). BARON, WILLIAM VON KNYPHAUSEN, Lieut.-General in the British service during the American revolution, was born

in Alcase, then one of the Rhenish provinces, about the year 1730. His father was Colonel of the German Regt. of Dittforth, in the service of John, Duke of Marlborough, and his own military career commenced in the service of Frederick William I. of Prussia, the father of Frederick the Great. Subsequently he served in the several wars waged by the latter against Austria. In 1776 he received from the British government the command of 12,000 Waldeckers and Hessians hired to aid in repressing the insurrection in the American colonies, and arrived in New York in time to participate in the battle of Brooklyn, August, 1776. He was at the battle of White Plains, and aided in the capture of Fort Washington in November 1776, and in the defeat of the American forces at Brandywine in the succeeding year. In June 1780, being then in the temporary command of the British troops in New York, during the absence of Sir Henry Clinton at the South, he made a descent into the Jerseys with 5,000 men, in the hope of rallying the disaffected Americans to the royal standard, but he accomplished little beyond sacking the village of Connecticut Farms. On the 23d he re-entered the Jerseys with re-enforcements, and attacked the detachment under Greene, which occupied Springfield and the heights in the rear. But so skillful were the dispositions of the American general, that after an indecisive conflict, Knyphausen again returned to Staten Island, after burning the village of Springfield. He was a man of fine personal appearance, about 5 feet 11 inches in height, straight and slender. His features were sharp, and his appearance martial, and he was remarkably amiable and simple-minded. It is said he used to spread his bread with his thumb. Gen. Lafayette was in the habit of telling an anecdote concerning him, on the authority of British officers. The passage to America was very long, and one night, while play-

ing whist in the cabin. Knyphausen suddenly turned to the commander of the vessel, and said, with an air of much sincerity, "*Captain, ain't we hab sailed past America?*" The Baron died in Berlin, in Prussia, on the 2d day of June, 1789, aged 59.

(22). CHARLES THOMSON was born in Ireland in 1729, and came to America with his three elder brothers about 1741. He landed at Newcastle, Delaware, with slender means of subsistence. Having been educated by Dr. Allison, he kept the Friends' Academy. He afterwards went to Philadelphia, where he obtained the advice and friendship of Dr. Franklin. At the first Congress in 1774, he was called upon to take minutes of their measures, and from that time he was the sole Secretary of the Revolutionary Congress. He resigned his office in July 1789, having held it fifteen years. His mind was enriched with various learning, and his character was marked by regularity, probity, firmness, and patriotism. He translated the Septuagint, and his work was published in 1808. His wife's maiden name was Hannah Harrison. She was the aunt of Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, late President of the United States. Mr. Thomson died at Lower Merion, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on the 16th day of August 1824, aged 94 years. His wife died in 1807. Their remains lie interred in Laurell Hill Cemetery, near Philadelphia, having been removed in 1838 from Lower Merion, where they had originally been deposited.

The following accounts of the capture of Marr and Moody, and the subsequent death of the latter, we take from the papers of the day.

(23). "PHILADELPHIA, November 14.

On Thursday morning last, [8th Nov: 1781] Lanrence Marr and John Moody, both of Col. Barton's Tory regiment,

were apprehended in this city on suspicion of being spies. On the two following days they were indulged with a candid and full hearing, before a respectable board of officers, whereof the honourable major general the marquis de Lafayette was present. It appeared their business was to steal and carry off the secret journals of Congress, and other papers, to New York. They have made several interesting discoveries of many persons in these states, who are doing their utmost to ruin their country. The names of these ingrates will appear in proper time. The board of officers having reported to the honourable board of war, their opinion was approved, and Marr and Moody were both sentenced to die; which sentence was executed on Moody yesterday between the hours of eleven and twelve. Marr is respited until Friday the 23d inst. From Saturday evening until yesterday, the criminals were both attended by a gentleman of the clerical order, who gives us ground to hope they were real penitents, as from the beginning of their confinement they manifested the greatest contrition for all their sins, political and moral. The enemy, who at this period seem equal to no exploits superior to robbing mails and stealing papers, may thank the monster Benedict Arnold, their beloved friend, for the untimely death of this young man, who was only in his 23d year."

Freeman's Journal, Wed : Nov : 14. 1781.

"NEW YORK, November 21.

The report of the death of Lieut. James Moody, proves a mistake, he being now in this city, but his brother John Moody, after being seized at Philadelphia, was put to death by the rebels, and his body carried for interment to his distressed father, and relations at Egg-Harbour."

Rivington, Nov. 21, 1781.

(24). SIR HENRY CLINTON was the eldest son of Admiral George Clinton, formerly Governor of the Province of New York. He entered the army at an early age. He became Lieut. in the Cold Stream Guards, Nov. 1, 1751, Capt. in the 1st Foot Guards, May 6, 1758, Colonel in the army, 1762, and of the 12th Regt. of Foot, Nov. 28, 1766. He gained great credit for his services during the seven years' war in Germany, and rose to the rank of Major-General, May 25, 1772, and in May 1775 arrived at Boston. He distinguished himself at the battle of Bunker Hill, and was rewarded in September following by being created Knight of the Bath, and advanced to the rank of Lieut.-General in America. In January, 1776, he was appointed General, and was defeated that year at Sullivan's Island, and in August following, commanded a division in the battle of Brooklyn. In October he defeated a portion of the American army on the Bronx river, in Westchester County, in 1777 was appointed Lieut.-General in the army, and was afterwards present at the storming of forts Washington and Clinton. In 1778 he was commissioned Commander-in-Chief, and conducted the retreat from Philadelphia to New York, and in December embarked for Charleston, S. C., which he reduced. He was succeeded in the chief command by General Carleton in 1782, when he returned to England. In 1782, he published a Narrative of his conduct in America, in 1783, Observations on Cornwallis' Answer, and in 1794, Observations on Mr. Stedman's History of the American War. He died December 13, 1795.

(25). WILLIAM FRANKLIN was the son of the celebrated Dr. Benj. Franklin, and was born about the year 1731. He received a good education, and was bred for the profession of

law. In the French war he acted as a captain, and gained great praise for his conduct at Ticonderoga. Before the declaration of peace he went to England with his father, where both were received with marked attention. In the year 1763 he was appointed Governor of New Jersey, which office he held for several years. His appointment was an unpopular one, arising in part from the illegitimacy of his birth, but principally from his "time-serving conduct and courtier-like propensities." When the Revolutionary War broke out he took the side of the Crown, and his subsequent course of conduct rendered him so obnoxious that he was finally ousted from office in 1776, and William Livingston, a member of the First Continental Congress, became his successor. The deposed Governor was declared an enemy to the country, and was consequently imprisoned, but on the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton in 1778, his exchange was effected, and he was set at liberty. He served for a short period as President of the Board of Loyalists, and then went to England. He and his father were for a long time estranged, but a reconciliation was eventually effected, though it is evident that the latter remembered his son's course of conduct to the last. Governor Franklin died in November, 1813, at the age of about 80 years.

(26). CORTLANDT SKINNER, of New Jersey, was Attorney-General of that Colony at the commencement of the Revolution, and in the performance of his official duties evinced much ability and integrity. He accepted service under the Crown, and was authorized to raise a corps of Loyalists to consist of 2,500 men. He was allowed to nominate his own officers. Three battalions were organized and officered, and called the New Jersey Volunteers. The enlistments of common soldiers were slow. After several months of active exertion, the

whole number of men who had rallied under his standard was but 1,101. Skinner continued in command of the corps with the rank of Brigadier-General. At the restoration of peace, he went to England, and died in Bristol in 1799, at the age of 71.

(27). GENERAL JAMES PATTISON was appointed Captain of Artillery August 1, 1747, Lieut.-Colonel in the army in 1761, and Colonel Commandant of Artillery, April 25th, 1777. On the 19th of February, 1779, he was appointed Major-General, and in the month of July following was made Commandant of the Garrison of New York, in place of Lieut.-General Jones. He accompanied the army against Charleston in 1780, and was raised to the rank of Lieut.-General September 28, 1787, and on the 26th January, 1797, attained the rank of General in the British army. He died at his house in Hill Street, Berkley Square, London, March 1, 1805, at the age of 81 years.

(28). SIR GEORGE BECKWITH was the second son of Major-General Beckwith, and was born in 1753. He was bred to the army, and became, July 20, 1771, an ensign of the 37th Foot; obtained a lieutenancy July 7, 1775, and in the following year embarked for America under Cornwallis. On his arrival he was nominated Adjutant to a battalion of grenadiers, and shortly after served in the operations against Charleston, and then in the battle of Brooklyn, at the landing on New York island, at the battle of White Plains, and at the taking of Fort Montgomery, soon after which he embarked for Rhode Island. In February, 1777, he rejoined the body of the army in New Jersey, where he remained till July, when he purchased a Captain-Lieutenancy and embarked with the fleet for the Penn-

sylvania campaign. He was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and in January, 1778, retired with the army into winter-quarters in Philadelphia. In May he succeeded to an effective company, and about the same time became Aid-de-Camp to Gen. Knyphausen, and served as such at the battle of Monmouth. In 1781 he was with Arnold at New London. In November following he became brevet-Major, and in June, 1782, was appointed Aid-de-Camp to Sir Guy Carleton, by whom he was employed in negotiating the arrangements for the withdrawal of the British from America in 1783. In August 25, 1795, he received the brevet rank of Colonel, and in April, 1797, was nominated Colonel on the staff in Bermuda, and succeeded to the civil government in 1798. He continued there till 1803, when he returned to England, with the rank of Major-General. In 1804 he was removed to the staff in the Leeward and Windward Islands, and became Governor of St. Vincent. On the death of Sir William Thyers, Commander-in-Chief at Barbadoes, he succeeded him, remaining there till 1806, when he was raised to the local rank of General. In March, 1806, he was Lient-General, in April following he repaired to his former station at St. Vincent, and in June obtained chief command at Barbadoes a second time. In 1809, at the head of 10,000 men, he reduced Martinique, for which he was knighted. In 1810 he took Guadeloupe, St. Martins and St. Eustatius; in 1814 became General, and in 1816 took command of the troops in Ireland. In March, 1820, he returned to England, when the baneful effects of his long residence and arduous services in the West Indies became visible on his health, and at length deprived him of life on the 20th of March, 1823, at the age of about 76 years.

(29). LIEUT.-GEN. JAMES ROBERTSON was educated for a military life, and rose by successive promotions to the highest honors. He was engaged in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758, and in 1759 was with General Amherst, on both which occasions he was connected with the Quartermaster's Department. In the year 1762 he was in the expedition against Martinico, and in 1775 he was stationed in Boston, and when that city was evacuated by the British, he accompanied General Howe to New York. He was in the battle of Long Island, and other engagements in that vicinity. He was made Colonel in 1772, Major-General in 1776, and attained the rank of Lieut.-General in 1782. He was commissioned Governor of New York May 4th. 1779, and took the oath of office on the 23d of March, 1780. In the year 1783 he returned to England, and died in 1788.

(30). The following proclamation of Governor Livingston for the arrest of Moody, with Moody's rejoinder thereto, appears in Rivington's Gazette, Aug. 25, 1781. They are too good to be lost, and we accordingly give them a place here. It is well to state that the Governor was possessed of large ears and a prominent red nose.

Whereas it has been represented to me that the persons hereinafter mentioned, have been guilty of atrocious offences, and have committed divers robberies, thefts, and other felonies in this State. I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of the Honourable the Privy Council of this State, to issue this proclamation, hereby promising the rewards herein mentioned, to any person or persons who shall apprehend and secure in any gaol of this State, any or either of the following persons or offenders, to wit: Caleb Sweesy, James O'Hara,

John* Moody, and Gysbert Eyberlin, the sum of two hundred dollars of the bills of credit issued on the faith of this State.

“Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Trenton, the third day of August, 1781, and in the fifth year of the independence of America.

WIL. LIVINGSTON.”

“HUE AND CRY: *Two Hundred Guineas Reward.*

“*Whereas* a certain William Livingston, late an Attorney at Law, and now a *lawless usurper* and *incorrigible rebel*, stands convicted in the minds of all honest men, as well as in his own conscience, of many atrocious crimes and offences against God and the King, and among many other treasonable practices, has lately, with malicious and murderous intention, published a seditious advertisement in a rebel newspaper, offering a reward of what he calls two hundred State dollars, to an assassin who shall take and deliver me and three other loyalists into the power of him, the said William Livingston.

“I do therefore hereby promise to pay the sum of two hundred guineas, *true money*, to the person or persons who shall bring the said William Livingston alive into New York, and deliver him into the custody of Captain Cunningham, so that he may be duly lodged in the provost, till the approaching extinction of the rebellion, then to be brought to trial for his numerous crimes and offences aforesaid. In the mean, if his whole person cannot be brought in, half the sum above specified will be paid for his EARS and NOSE, which are too well known, and too remarkable to be mistaken. Observe, however, that his life must not be attempted, because that would be to follow his example of exciting the villainous practice of

* A mistake in the name: should be *James*.

assassination, and because *his death* at present, would defraud Jack Ketch of a future perquisite.

“Given under my hand and seal at arms, in New York, this twenty-third day of August, 1781. (a style which I have surely as much right to assume as William Livingston, or any other rebel usurper).

J. MOODY.

“The several printers on the continent are requested to insert the above in their newspapers.”

(₃₁). REV. CHAS. INGLIS, D.D., became Assistant Rector of Trinity Church, New York, in 1764, and continued to officiate until Washington took possession of that city, in 1776, when he went up the Hudson River. On the death of Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, in 1777, he succeeded as pastor. The church having been burnt, he was inducted into office by placing his hands on the ruins, in presence of the wardens, and taking the usual obligations. He took the side of the King during the Revolutionary contest, and made himself obnoxious by the warmth with which he advocated his sentiments. At the restoration of peace in 1783, he went to Nova Scotia, and became Bishop of that Colony in 1787, being the first Colonial Bishop of any British dominions in any part of the world. In 1809 he became a member of the Council. He died in the spring of the year 1816, at the age of 82. His wife's maiden name was Margaret Crooke. She was the daughter of John Crooke, of Ulster County, N. Y., and was a lady of large fortune. She died in the year 1783, after a long and severe illness, in the 35th year of her age.

(₃₂). REV. THOMAS B. CHANDLER, D.D., was born in Woodstock, Conn., and graduated at Yale College in 1745. Though

bred a Congregationalist, he embraced Episcopacy in 1748, and three years later went to England for ordination. On his return he became Rector of St. John's Church at Elizabethtown, N. J., where he long maintained a high character for erudition and talents. He was an early and uncompromising loyalist, and expressed himself with much warmth, in consequence of which he gave offence to many of his congregation, who left his church. He afterwards went to Nova Scotia, and was elected the first Bishop of the Colony, but he declined the office on account of ill-health. During the last ten years of his life he was afflicted with a painful disease, but he bore his sufferings with patience and even with cheerfulness. He wrote several works, some of a theological character, and others upon the politics of the day, in all of which he showed himself to be a writer of ability. He was large and portly, and of fine personal appearance, and his countenance expressive of high intelligence. He had a strong commanding voice, and was a great lover of music. He died on the 17th day of June, 1790, at the age of 64. His widow died in the year 1801, at the age of 68.







SIR GEORGE COLLIER,

CAPTAIN OF THE RAINBOW

THE
NARRATIVE
OF
JOHN BLATCHFORD,

DETAILING

*His Sufferings in the Revolutionary War, while a Prisoner
with the British.*

AS RELATED BY HIMSELF.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL.



NEW YORK :
PRIVATELY PRINTED.
1865.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1865, by

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New York.

TO
CAPT. JOHN BLATCHFORD,
OF ROCKPORT, MASS.,
ELDEST SURVIVING SON OF THE
HERO OF THIS NARRATIVE,
THIS TRACT
IS RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED.



INTRODUCTION.



JOHN BLATCHFORD, the hero of this narrative, was the son of John Blatchford, of Sandy Bay, now Rockport, on Cape Ann, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and was born about the year 1762.

After receiving a very limited education, he was brought up to the occupation of a fisherman, which employment he pursued until the month of June, 1777, when, being about fifteen years of age, he enlisted as a cabin-boy on board the *Hancock*, a continental ship, commanded by Capt. John Manly.

On the 8th day of July following, the *Hancock* was captured by the British ship *Rainbow*, Sir George Collier, and her crew taken to Halifax and imprisoned. After being immured there awhile, and treated with great severity, our

hero was sent to England, and soon after his arrival there was put on board an Indiaman, and transported with eighty-two other Americans to the East Indies, where he was compelled first to do duty as a soldier, and then to work in the pepper gardens belonging to the East India Company. He eventually, with great risk and after great suffering, effected his escape, and ultimately reached Guadaloupe, one of the West India Islands, where he took passage for Philadelphia; but misfortune again befell him, for while on his way thither, he was captured by the enemy, taken to New York, and put on board the prison ship "Jersey." After remaining in this wretched hulk about a week, he was sent in a cartel to France, whence in course of time he returned home, after an absence of almost six years, having, during his long imprisonment, endured the severest hardships and privations, experienced the most barbarous treatment from the hands of the British, and made several narrow escapes from death, not only from the bayonet, but from hunger and disease, and likewise from the attack of savage beasts of prey.

Soon after his return, he married Anna, the daughter of Nehemiah Grover, a farmer by occupation, and a respectable landholder. Mr. Blatchford resumed the avocation of a fisherman, which he followed for a short time, and then took

to the seas for a livelihood, making many voyages to foreign countries. He died at Port au Prince, in the West Indies, about the year 1794, and was buried in that town. He left surviving him his widow, and also two sons and one daughter, to mourn their untimely loss.

In his stature, our hero was about medium height. He had broad shoulders, full chest, and well-proportioned limbs. His complexion was sallow, his eyes dark, and his hair black and curly. He was temperate in his habits, dignified in his deportment, and though possessed of great muscular power and most undaunted courage, he was, nevertheless, peaceful in his disposition and slow to anger.

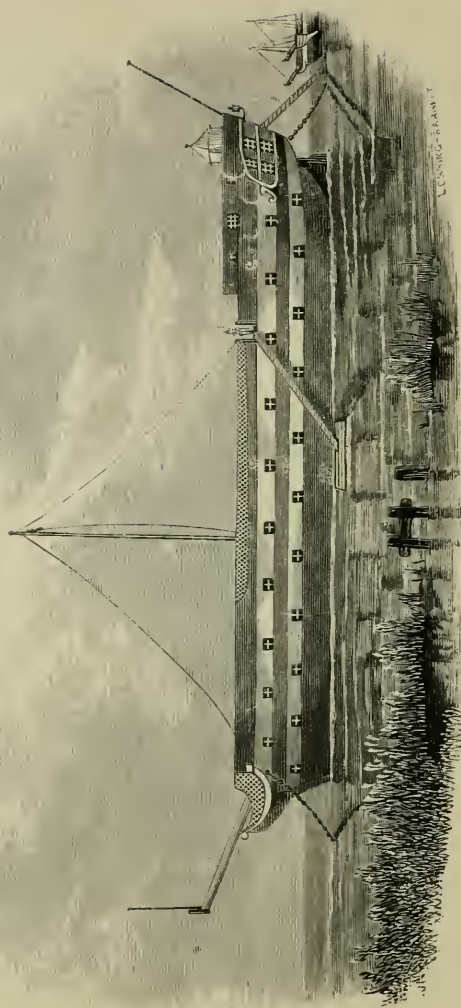
The narrative of his adventures while a prisoner, was undoubtedly prepared from dictation. It is an interesting, romantic, and in many respects, an extraordinary document. It is remarkable for the series of misfortunes which befell its hero, and as a record of malignant spite and savage brutality on the part of the British, is almost unparalleled in the annals of history.

It was originally published in New London in 1788, and was issued in pamphlet form. In the year 1797, a lengthy abstract appeared in the columns of Freneau's "Time Piece," a paper published in the city of New York. In July, 1860, the entire production was printed in the "Cape Ann

Gazette," and the demand for copies having far exceeded the edition, it was reproduced in the same paper in the month of October following. We will further state that the present edition has been printed from a certified copy, which through the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society, we were permitted to have made from one of the original tracts now in its possession.







THE "JERSEY" PRISON-SHIP.

NARRATIVE
OF
Remarkable Occurrences,
IN THE LIFE OF
JOHN BLATCHFORD,
Of Cape-Ann, Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

CONTAINING,
His treatment in *Nova-Scotia*—the *West Indies*—*Great-Britain*—*France*, and the *East-Indies*, as a prisoner in the late war.

Taken from his own mouth.



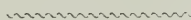
NEW LONDON: Printed by T. GREEN.

M,DCC,LXXX,VIII.

[With the privilege of Copy-Right]



NARRATIVE.



IN June, 1777, I shipped myself as cabin-boy on board the Continental ship Hancock,⁽¹⁾ John Manly, Esq.⁽²⁾ commander, being then in the 15th year of my age, and a few days after sailed on a cruize. Being out some days we fell in with and took the Fox,⁽³⁾ a British frigate of 28 guns, after an engagement of four glasses. Our captain sent on board the prize as many men as we could spare, and both ships kept company several days, till on the 8th of July we fell in with the British ships Rainbow⁽⁴⁾ of 40 guns, and Flora⁽⁵⁾ of 32 guns

(who had in company the brig Cabot⁽⁶⁾ of 16 guns which had just before been taken by the Milford British frigate)⁽⁷⁾ by whom we were both taken⁽⁸⁾ and carried into Halifax.

I was kept prisoner among a number of my countrymen, on board the Rainbow, until we arrived at Halifax.⁽⁹⁾ On our arrival there we were taken on shore and confined in a prison which had formerly been a sugar house.⁽¹⁰⁾—The large number of prisoners confined in this house (near 300) together with a scanty allowance of provisions, occasioned it to be very sickly. So irksome a situation put us upon meditating an escape—but we could form no plan that was likely to be attended with success, till George Barnard, who had been a midshipman in the Hancock, and who was confined in the same room with myself, concerted a plan to release us, which was to be effected by digging a small passage under ground, to extend to a garden that was behind the prison and without the prison wall, where we might make a breach in the night with safety, and probably all obtain our liberty.—This plan greatly elated our spirits, and we were all anxious to proceed immediately in executing of it.

Our cabins were built one above another, from the floor to the height of a man's head; and mine being one of those built on the floor, was pitched upon to be taken up:—this being done, six of us agreed to do the work, whose names were, George Barnard and William Atkins of Boston, (late midshipmen in the Hancock), Lemuel Fowle of Cape-Ann, Isaiah Churchill of Plimouth, Asa Cole of Weathersfield, and myself. We took up the cabin and cut a hole in the plank underneath.

The sugar-house stood upon a foundation of stone which raised the floor four feet above the ground, and gave us sufficient room to work and to convey away the dirt that we dug up.

The instruments which we had to work with were one scraper, one long spike, and some sharp sticks; with these we proceeded in our difficult undertaking. As the hole was too small to admit of more than one person to work at a time, we dug by turns ten or twelve days, and carried the dirt in our bosoms to another end of the cellar; by this time we supposed we had dug far enough, and word was given out among the prisoners to prepare themselves for flight. But while we were in the midst of gaiety, congratu-

lating each other upon our happy prospects, we were basely betrayed by one of our own countrymen whose name was Knowles: he had been a midshipman on board the Boston frigate,⁽¹¹⁾ and was put on board the Fox when she was taken by the Hancock and Boston.—What could have induced him to commit so vile an action cannot be conceived, as no advantage could accrue to him from our detection, and death was the certain consequence to many of his miserable countrymen—that it was so, is all I can say. A few hours before we were to have attempted our escape, Knowles informed the sergeant of the guard (Mr. Bible) of our design; and by his treachery lost his country the lives of more than a hundred valuable citizens—fathers and husbands—whose return would have rejoiced the hearts of now weeping fatherless children, and called forth tears of joy from wives, now helpless and disconsolate widows—When we were discovered, the whole guard was ordered into the room; and being informed by Knowles who it was that performed the work, we were all six confined in irons—the hole was filled up, and a centinel constantly placed in the room, to prevent any further

attempt.—We were all kept in close confinement till two of my fellow-sufferers Barnard and Cole, died; one of which was put into the ground with his irons on his hands.⁽¹²⁾ I was afterwards permitted to walk the yard. But as my irons were too small and caused my hands to swell, and made them very sore, I asked the sergeant to take them off and give me larger ones,—he being a person of humanity, and compassionating my sufferings, changed my irons for others that were larger, and more easy to my hands.

Knowles, who was likewise permitted to walk the yard, for his perfidy, would take every opportunity to insult and mortify me, by asking me whether I wanted to run away again? and when I was going home, &c?—His daily affronts, together with his conduct in betraying of his countrymen, so exasperated me, that I wished for nothing more than for an opportunity to convince him that I did not love him.—One day as he was tantalizing over me as usual, I suddenly drew one hand out of my irons, flew at him and struck him in the face, knocked out two or three of his teeth, and bruised his mouth very much. He cried out, that the prisoner had

got loose,—but before any assistance came, I had put my hand again into the hand-cuff, and was walking about the yard as usual. When the guard came, they demanded of me in what manner I struck him? I told them with both my hands.

They then tried to pull my hands out, but could not, and concluded it must be as I had said ;—some laughed and some were angry—but in the end I was ordered again into prison. The next day I was sent on board the Greyhound frigate,⁽¹³⁾ capt. Dickson,⁽¹⁴⁾ bound on a cruize in Boston-bay. After being out a few days, we met with a severe gale of wind, in which we sprung our main-mast and received considerable other damage. We were then obliged to bear away for the West-Indies, and on our passage fell in with and took a brig from Norwich, laden with stock, &c. The captain and hands were put on board a Danish vessel the same day. We carried the brig into Antigua,* where we immediately repaired, and were ordered in company with the Vulture sloop of war⁽¹⁵⁾ to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to New-York. We left the fleet off Sandy-Hook, and sailed for Philadelphia, where

* One of the West India islands, Leeward Group.

we lay till we were made a packet and ordered for Halifax with dispatches. We had a quick passage, and arrived safe. While we lay in the road, admiral Byron ⁽¹⁶⁾ arrived* in the Princess Royal ⁽¹⁷⁾ from England, who being short of men, and we having a surplusage for a packet, many of our men were ordered on board the Princess-Royal, and among them most of our boat's crew.

Soon after, some of the officers going on shore, I was ordered into the boat.—We landed at the Governor's-slip—it being then near night. This was the first time since I had been on board the Greyhound that I had had an opportunity to escape from her, as they were before this particularly careful of me; therefore I was determined to get away then if possible, and to effect it I waded round a wharf and went up a by-way, (fearing I should meet the officers): I soon got into the street and made the best of my way towards Irishtown,† where I expected to be safe;—but unfortunately while running, I was met and stopped by an emissary,

* Admiral Byron arrived at Halifax, August 26, 1778.

† The southern suburbs of Halifax, chiefly inhabited by the Irish population.

who demanded of me my business, and where I was going? I endeavoured to deceive him, that he might let me pass; but it was in vain—he ordered me to follow him:—

I offered him what money I had (about $\frac{7}{6}$ sterl.) to let me go—this too was ineffectual. I then told him I was an American and making my escape from a long confinement, and was determin'd to pass, and took up a stone. He immediately drew his bayonet* and ordered me to go back with him.—I refused, and told him to keep his distance.—He then run upon me, and pushing his bayonet into my side, it came out near my navel; but the wound was not very deep;—he then made a second pass, and stabbed me through my arm: he was about to stab me a third time, when I struck him with the stone and knocked him down. I then run, but the guard which had been alarmed, immediately took me, and carried me before the governor (Hughes) (18) where I understood the man was dead. I was

* Bayonets were invented at Bayonne, in France, 1670, and received their name from the town where they were invented. They were first used by the English, Sept. 24, 1693, and superseded the pike completely under William III.

threatened with every kind of death, and ordered out of the governor's presence.

Whilst in confinement I was informed by a young gentleman (who was to be sent to England and tried for killing a man in a duel) that it was not in the power of the Governor to try me; but that I should be sent to England; which I found to be true. The next day I was sent on board the Greyhound, the ship I had run from, and we sailed for England. Our captain being a humane man, ordered my irons off, a few days after we sailed, and permitted me to do duty as formerly. Being out thirteen days we spoke the Hazard⁽¹⁹⁾ sloop of war, who inform'd that the French fleet was then cruising in the English channel:⁽²⁰⁾—for this reason we put into Cork, and the dispatches were forwarded to England.—While we lay in the Cove of Cork,* I jumped overboard, with intention of getting away; but unfortunately I was discovered and fired at by the marines: the boat was immediately sent after

* A seaport town in Ireland, now called Queenstown—so named by the sycophantic inhabitants of the place, in honor of the Queen's visit there in 1849. The old classic name was infinitely preferable.

me, took me up and carried me on board again. At this time almost all the officers were on shore, and the ship was left in charge of the sailing-master, one Drummond, who beat me most cruelly;—to get out of his way I run forward—he followed me, and as I was running back he came up with me and threw me down the mainhold.* The fall, together with the beating, was so severe that I was deprived of my senses for a considerable time; when I recovered them I found myself in the carpenter's birth, placed upon some old canvass, between two chests, having my right thigh, leg and arm broken, and several parts of my body severely bruised. In this situation I lay eighteen days, till our officers, (who had been on business to Dublin) came on board. The captain enquired for the prisoner, and being informed of my situation, came down with the doctor to set my bones, but finding them callused they concluded not to meddle with me.

The ship lay at Cork till the French fleet left the

* That part of a ship just before the main mast, and which generally contained the fresh water and beer for the use of the ship's company.

channel, and then sailed for Spithead.*—On our arrival there I was sent in irons on board the Princess-Amelia,⁽²¹⁾ and the next day was carried on board the Britannia⁽²²⁾ in Portsmouth † harbour, to be tried before Sir Thomas Pye,⁽²³⁾ lord high admiral of England, and president of the court-martial.

Before the officers had collected, I was put under the care of a centinel; and the seamen and women who came on board compassionated my sufferings, which rather heightened than diminished my distress. I was sitting under the awning, almost overpowered by the reflection of my unhappy situation, every moment expecting to be summoned for my trial, when I heard somebody enquiring for the prisoner—supposing it to be an officer, I rose up and answered, that I was there. The gentleman came to me, told me to be of good cheer, and taking out a bottle of cordial bid me drink, which I did:—

* A celebrated roadstead off the southern coast of England, one of the principal rendezvous of the British navy, so secure from all winds except the S. E., as to have been termed by sailors “the king’s bed-chamber.”

† A fortified seaport town, and the principal naval station of England.

he then enquired where I belonged—I informed him—he asked me if I had parents living, and if I had any friends in England?—I answered I had neither: he then assured me he was my friend, and would render me all the assistance in his power.—He then enquired of me every circumstance relative to my fray with the man at Halifax, for whose death I was now to be tried;—and instructed me what to say on my trial,—told me if it was asked in court “if I had any friend or attorney to speak for me,” to look at such a corner of the state-room, where I should see him, and to answer the court “Yes, Mr. Thomas,” for that was the gentleman’s name. All this was spoken in so friendly a manner, that I could not distrust him, although what he had instructed me to say, appeared to me, would be against myself.

The court having assembled, I was called in and examined partly, and on being asked “If I had any friend to speak in my behalf,” I looked round, and saw Mr. Thomas, and answered, “Yes, Mr. Thomas,” who then came forward.—The court asked him what he had to say in behalf of the prisoner?—On which he desired them to question the prisoner, and if he

could not answer sufficiently, he would speak for him. I was then asked if I meant to kill the man. I answered as instructed (tho' loth) that I did. The court seemed surpriz'd and asked me the question again, and I again answered, Yes. I was then asked if I should have hurt the man had he not molested me? I replied, No.—I was then asked many other questions, and if I was not sorry I had undertaken in the rebellion against my king?—Mr. Thomas then spoke, and said it was hardly fair to ask me such a question upon this occasion; and that considering my youth, I had given as fair an account of myself as could be expected.—He spoke a considerable time on the subject, and concluded with comparing our combat to a field battle between two armies—expatiated largely and explained the subject so clearly that no answer was made to his arguments.—I was ordered to withdraw, and waited with painful impatience to know my destiny.—This was repeated two or three times, till at last I was called in and acquitted of the murder, and was informed that I was to be sent back to Halifax, to be exchanged as a prisoner of war. I cannot express

my feelings on this occasion, and no one can know them, but by experiencing the same reverse of fortune.

I immediately found my benefactor and returned him thanks, with gratitude for his friendly and benevolent assistance. Mr. Thomas then asked the liberty of taking me on shore with him, engaging to return me the next day—and liberty was granted him.—He told a young lad, his son, to walk with me about Portsmouth, and shew me the town, and then to carry me home to his house; which he did. In the evening Mr. Thomas came into the kitchen and asked me to walk into the parlour, to satisfy the curiosity of some ladies, who had never seen a Yankee, as they called me: I went in, and they seemed greatly surprized to see me look like an Englishman; they said they were sure I was no Yankee, but like themselves. The idea they had formed of the Americans was nearly the same as we have of the natives of this country. When the ladies had satisfied their curiosity, Mr. Thomas put a guinea into his hat, and carrying it round asked the ladies to contribute for the poor Yankee: he then gave me the money, (about four guineas.)

The next morning I was sent on board the Princess-Amelia, where I spent a joyful day; expecting soon to be sent on board the Greyhound, which was bound to Halifax.

In the evening I heard a boat coming along-side, and supposing it to belong to the Greyhound, (as the people in the boat enquired for me)—I made haste and jumped into the boat; but to my extreme disappointment and grief, I was carried on board an Indiaman, and immediately put down into the run,* where I was confined seven days. I begged that I might send word on shore to my former benefactor, and inform him of my situation, but they would not grant it. On the seventh day, I heard the boatswain pipe all hands, and about noon I was called up on deck, when I found myself on board the Princess-Royal⁽²⁴⁾ indiaman, captain Robert Kerr;—we were then off the Isle of Wight, bound to the East-Indies, in company with six others, viz. the Ceres, Hawke, Prince, Sandwich, Walpole and True-Briton, all

* The run of a ship is that part of her hull under water which comes narrower by degrees from the floor timbers to the sternposts.

large ships, ⁽²⁵⁾ belonging to the East-India company. ⁽²⁶⁾

Our captain told me, if I behaved well and did my duty, I should receive as good usage as any man on board :—this gave me great encouragement. I now found my destiny was fixed—that whatever I could do, would not in the least alter my situation, and therefore was determined to do the best I could, and make myself as contented as my unfortunate situation would admit.

After being on board several days, I found there were in the *Princess-Royal*, eighty-two Americans, all destined to the East-Indies, for being what they called Rebels. ⁽²⁷⁾

We had a passage of seventeen weeks to St. Helena, where we put in and landed part of our cargo, (which consisted wholly of provisions), and some of the soldiers who were brought out for that island. The ship lay here about three weeks ; we then sailed for Batavia*—and on the passage touched at the Cape of Good-Hope,† where we

* Capital and seaport town of the island of Java.

† The Cape of Good Hope was first discovered by Bartholomew Diaz, 1486—first doubled by Vasco de Gama, 1497—

found the whole of the fleet that sailed with us from England—we took in some provisions and necessities and set sail for Batavia, where we arrived in ten weeks. Here we purchased a large quantity of arrack and remained a considerable time.

We then sailed for Bencoolen,* in the island of Sumatria, and after a passage of about six weeks arrived there, (this was in June 1780). At this place the Americans were all carried on shore; and I found that I was no longer to remain on board the ship, but condemned to serve as a soldier for five years.—I offered to bind myself to the captain for five years, or any longer term, if I might serve on board the ship:—he told me it was impossible for me to be released from acting as a soldier, unless I could pay fifty pounds sterling. As I was unable to do this, I was obliged to go through the manual exercise with the other prisoners; among whom was William Randall of Boston, and Josiah Folgier of Nantucket, both young men, and one of them an

planted by Holland, 1651—taken by the British, 1795—again in 1806, and definitely ceded to Great Britain, 1814.

‡ Bencooloo, corruptly called Bencoolen, is on the S. W. coast of the island of Sumatra. The chief trade is pepper.

old ship-mate of mine;—these two and myself agreed to behave as ignorant and awkward as possible; and what motions we learned one day we were to forget the next.—We pursued this conduct near a fortnight, and were beaten every day by the drill-sergeant, who exercised us; and when he found we were determined in our obstinacy, and that it was not possible for him to learn us anything, we were all three sent into the pepper gardens belonging to the East-India company, and continued picking peppers from morning till night, and allowed but two scanty meals a day;—this, together with the amazing heat of the sun, (the island lying under the equator) was too much for an American constitution, unused to a hot climate, and we expected that we should soon end our misery and our lives;—but Providence still preserved us for greater hardships.*

* Sumatria is an island of the Indian ocean, situated between 93 and 104 degrees of East longitude, and between 5 degrees and 30 minutes North and 5 degrees and 30 minutes South latitude; extending from N. W. to S. E. 900 miles long, and from 100 to 150 broad, separated from the continent of the Further India by the straits of Malacca on the N. E. and from the island of Java by the straits of Sunda on the S. E. This

The Americans died daily with heat and hard fare, which determined my two companions and myself in an endeavour to make our escape.—We had been in the pepper gardens four months when an opportunity offered, and we resolved upon trying our fortune;—Folgier, Randall and myself sat out with an intention of reaching Croy, (a small harbour where the Dutch often touch at to water) on the opposite side of the island.—Folgier had by some means got a bayonet, which he fixed on the end of a stick—Randall and myself had nothing but staves, which were all the weapons we carried with us. We provided ourselves with fire-works* for our journey, which we pursued unmolested till the fourth day just at night, when we heard a rustling in the bushes and discovered nine scapoys, (country-born soldiers in the British service) who suddenly rushed out upon us.

Folgier being the most resolute of us, run at one island lying under the equator, and the low grounds near the sea-coast being flooded one-half of the year, is very unhealthy. The natives build most of their houses upon pillars, to secure them against the annual inundations.

(This note was in the original edition.—ED.)

* Tinder box and accompaniments for striking fire.

of them and pushed his bayonet through his body into a tree; Randall knocked down another;—but they overpowered us, bound us, and carried us back to the fort, which we reached in one day and half, though we had been four days travelling from it, owing to the circle we made by going round the shore; and they came across the woods, being acquainted with the way. Immediately on our arrival at the fort the governor* called a court-martial, to have us tried.—We were soon all condemned to be shot the next morning at seven o'clock, and ordered to be sent into the dungeon and confined in irons, where we were attended by an adjutant who brought a priest with him to pray and converse with us;—but Folgier, who hated the name and sight of an Englishman, desired that we might be left alone, and not be troubled with any company:—the clergyman reprimanded him, and told him he made very light of his situation, on supposition that he would be reprieved; but if he expected it he deceived himself:—Folgier still persisted in the clergyman's leaving of us, if he would

* The governor of Fort Marlborough at this time was William Broff, Esq. He held the position from 1772 to 1783.

have us make our peace with God ; for, said he, the sight of Englishmen, from whom we have received such treatment, is more disagreeable than the evil spirits of whom you have spoken :—that if he could have his choice, he would choose death in preference to life, if he must have it on conditions of such barbarous usage as he had received from their hands ; and that the thoughts of death did not seem so hideous to him as his past sufferings. He visited us again about midnight, but finding his company was not acceptable, he soon left us to our own melancholy reflections.

Before sun-rise we heard the drums beat, and soon after heard the direful noise of the door grating on its iron hinges—we were all taken out, our irons taken off, and we conducted by a strong guard of soldiers to the parade, surrounded by a circle of armed men, and led into the midst of them, where three white coffins were placed by our side :—silence was then commanded, and the adjutant taking a paper out of his pocket read our sentence :—and now I cannot describe my feelings upon this occasion, nor can it be felt by any one but those who have experienced some remarkable deliverance from

the grim hand of death, when surrounded on all sides, and nothing but death expected from every quarter, and by Divine Providence there is some way found out for escape—so it seemed to me when the adjutant pulled out another paper from his pocket and read, “that the governor and council, in consideration of the youth of Randall and myself, (supposing us to be led on by Folgier, who was the eldest) thought fit to pardon us from death, and that instead we were to receive eight hundred lashes each;”—although this last sentence appeared terrible to me, yet in comparison with death, it seemed to be light.—Poor Folgier was shot in our presence—previous to which we were told we might go and converse with him—Randall went and talked with him first, and after him I went up to take my leave, but my feelings were such at the time that I had not power to utter a single word to my departing friend, who seemed as undaunted and seemingly as willing to die as I was willing to be released—and told me not to forget the promises we had formerly made each other, which was, to embrace the first opportunity to escape:—we parted, and he was immediately after shot dead. We were next taken

and tied ; and the adjutant brought a small whip made of cotton, which consisted of a number of strands and knotted at the ends ; but these knots were all cut off by the adjutant before the drummer took it, which made it not worse than to have been whipt with cotton yarn. After being whipped 800 lashes we were sent to the company hospital, where we had been about three weeks, when Randall told me he intended very soon to make his escape :—this somewhat surprized me, as I had lost all hopes of regaining my liberty, and supposed he had :—I told him I had hoped he would never mention it again ; but however, if that was his design I would accompany him. He advised me, (if I was fearful) to tarry behind ;—but finding he was determined on going, I resolved to run the risque once more ; and as we were then in the hospital we were not suspected of such a design.

Having provided ourselves with fire-works and knives, about the first of December 1780, we sat out, with intention of reaching the Dutch settlement of Croy, which is but about two or three hundred miles distance upon a direct line, but as we were obliged to travel along the sea coast, (fearing to

risque the nearest way) it was a journey of eight hundred miles. We took each a stick and hung round our neck, and every day cut a notch, which was the method we took to keep time.—In this manner we travelled, living on fruit, turtle-eggs and some turtle, which we cooked every night with the fire we built to sleep by to secure us from wild beasts—they being here in great plenty, such as buffaloes, tigers, jackanapes, leopards, lions, baboons and monkies. On the 30th day of our travelling we met with nothing we could eat, and found no water—at night we found some fruit which appeared to the eye to be very delicious, (different from any we had seen in our travel) it resembled a fruit which grows in the West-Indies, called a Jack,⁽²⁵⁾ about the size of an orange:—we being very dry and hungry immediately gathered some of this fruit—but finding it of a sweet sickish taste I eat but two—Randall eat freely:—in the evening we found we were poisoned: I was sick and puked considerably:—Randall was sick and began to swell all round his body; he grew worse all night, but continued to have his senses till the next day, when he died, and left me to mourn my greater wretched-

ness,—more than 400 miles from any settlement—no companion—the wide ocean on one side and a prowling wilderness on the other—liable to many kinds of deaths, more terrible than being shot. I laid down by Randall's body, wishing if possible that he might return and tell me what course to take.—My thoughts almost distracted me, so that I was unable to do anything till the next day; during all which time I continued by the side of Randall—I then got up and made a hole in the sand and buried him.

I now continued my journey as well as my weak state of body would permit;—the weather being at this time extreme hot and rainy.—I frequently lay down and would wish that I might never rise again:—despair had almost wholly possessed me; and sometimes in a kind of delirium would fancy I heard my mother's voice, and my friends calling me, and I would answer them:—at other times my wild imagination would paint to my view scenes which I was well acquainted with, then supposing myself near home I would run as fast as my feeble legs could carry me:—frequently I fancied that I heard dogs bark, men cutting wood, and

every noise which I have heard in my native country.

One day as I was travelling, a small dog, as I thought it to be, came fawning round me and followed me, but I soon discovered it to be a young lion;—I supposed that its dam must be nigh, and therefore run; it followed me sometime and then left me; I proceeded on, but had not got far from it before it began to cry; I looked round and saw a lioness making towards it—she yelled most frightfully, which greatly terrified me; but she laid down something from her mouth for her young one, and then with another yell turned and went off from me.

Some days after, I was travelling by the edge of a woods, (which from its appearance had felt severely the effects of a tornado or hurricane, the trees being all torn up by the roots) and I heard a cracking noise in the bushes—looking about I saw a monstrous large tiger making slowly towards me, which frightened me exceedingly; when he had approached within a few rods of me, in my surprize I suddenly lifted up my hands and hollowed very loud: this sudden noise frightened him, seemingly as much as I had been, and he immediately turned and run

into the woods, and I saw him no more. After this I continued travelling on without molestation, only from the monkees, who were here so plenty that oftentimes I saw them in large droves: sometimes I run from them as if afraid of them; they would then follow, grin and chatter at me, and when they got near I would turn, and they would run back into the woods, and climb the trees to get out of my way.

It was now fifteen weeks since I had left the hospital—I had travelled most all the day without any water, and began to be very thirsty, when I heard the sound of running water, as it were down a fall of rocks—I had heard it a considerable time, and at last began to suspect it was nothing but imaginary, as many other noises I had before thought to have heard. I however went on as fast as I could, and at length discovered a brook—on approaching of it I was not a little surprized and rejoiced at the sight of a Female Indian, who was fishing at the brook:—she had no other dress on than that which mother nature affords impartially to all her children, except a small cloth which she wore round her waist,—I knew not how to address myself to her:—I was afraid if I spoke she would run—and there-

fore I made a small noise ; upon which she looked round and, seeing me, run across the brook, seemingly much frightened, leaving her fishing-line. I went up to her basket which contained five or six fish that looked much like our trout. I took up the basket and attempted to wade across where she had passed, but was too weak to wade across in that place, and went further up the stream, where I passed over—and then looking for the indian woman I saw her at some distance behind a large cocoa-nut tree :—I walked towards her, but dare not keep my eyes steadily upon her lest she should run from me as she did before.—I called to her in English ; and she answered in her own tongue, which I could not understand. I then called to her in the Malays, which I understood a little of :—she answered me in a kind of surprize, and asked me in the name of *Ocrum Footee* (the name of their god) from whence I came, and where I was going ?—I answered her as well as I could in the Melais, that I was from Fort Marlborough,* and going to Croy—that I was

* A Factory which belonged to the British East India Co. on the western coast of the Island of Sumatra, 3 miles east of Bencoolen.

making my escape from the English, by whom I had been taken in war.—She told me that she had been taken by the Malays some years before—for that the two nations were always at war; and that she had been kept as a slave among them three years, and was then retaken by her countrymen. Whilst we were talking together she appeared to be very shy, and I durst not go nearer than a rod to her, lest she should run from me. She said that Croy, the place I was bound to, was about three miles distance—that if I would follow her she would conduct me to her countrymen who were but a small distance off.—I begged her to plead with her countrymen to spare my life,—she said she would, and assured me that if I behaved well I should not be hurt. She then conducted me to a small village, consisting of huts or wigwams. When we arrived at the village, the children that saw me were frightened and run away from me—and the women expressed a great deal of fear, and kept at a distance—but my guide called to them and told them not to be afraid, for that I was not come to hurt them, and then informed them from whence I came, and that I was going to Croy.

I told my guide that I was very hungry—and she sent the children for something for me to eat;—they came and brought me little round balls of boiled rice; and they not daring to come nigh, threw them to me—these I picked up and eat; afterwards a woman brought some rice and goats milk in a copper bason, and setting it on the ground, made signs for me to take it up and eat it, which I did, and then put the bason down again; they then poked away the bason with a stick, battered it with stones, and making a hole in the ground buried it. After that they conducted me to a small hut, and told me to tarry there till the morning, when they would conduct me to the harbour. I had but little sleep that night, and was up several times to look out, and saw two or three indians at a little distance from the hut, who I suppose were placed there to watch me. Early in the morning numbers came round the hut, and the female who was my guide, asked me where my country was? I could not make her understand, only that it was at a great distance. She then asked me if my countrymen eat men. I told her no—and seeing some goats, pointed at them and told her we eat such as them.—She then asked me

what made me white, and if it was not the white rain that come upon us when we were small? (How they came by this notion I know not, but suppose that while she was over with the Malays she had heard something of snow from them, as they carry on some trade with the English at Fort Marlboro' and Bencoolen.) And as I wished to please and satisfy them, I told them that I supposed it was—for it was only in certain seasons of the year that it fell, and in hot weather when it did not fall the people grew darker till it returned and then the people all grew white again—this seemed to please them very much.

My protectress now brought a young man to me who, she said, was her brother, and who would shew me the way to the harbour;—she then cut a stick about eight feet long, and he took hold of one end and gave me the other—she told me that she had instructed her brother what to say at the harbour. He then led off and I followed. During our walk I put out my hand to him several times, and made signs of friendship—but he seemed to be afraid of me, and would look upwards and then fall flat on the ground and kiss it—this he repeated as often as

I made any sign or token of friendship to him.—When we had got near the harbour he made a sign for me to sit down upon a rock, which I did; he then left me and went, as I supposed, to talk with the people at the water concerning me; but I had not sit long before I saw a vessel coming round a point into the harbour.—They soon came on shore in the boat.—I went down to them and made my case known, and when the boat returned on board they took me with them. It was a Dutch snow* bound from China to Batavia; after they had wooded and watered they set sail for Batavia:—being out about three weeks we arrived there:—I tarried on board her about three weeks longer, and then got on board a Spanish ship which was from Rio de la Plate bound to Spain, but by stress of weather was forced to put into this port. After the vessel had repaired we sailed for Spain. When we made the Cape of Good-Hope we fell in with two British cruizers of 20 guns each, who engaged us and did the vessel considerable damage, but at

* A vessel with two masts resembling the main and fore-masts of a ship, and a third small mast just abaft the mainmast, carrying a sail similar to a ship's mizzen.

length we beat them off, and then run for the coast of Brazils, where we arrived safe and began to work at repairing our ship, but upon examination she was found to be not fit to proceed on her voyage, she was therefore condemned. I then left her and got on board a Portuguese snow, bound up to St. Helena, and we arrived safe at that place. I then went on shore and quitted her, and engaged in the garrison there to do duty as a soldier for my provisions, till some ship should arrive there bound to England. After serving here a month, I entered on board a ship called the Stormont⁽²⁹⁾—but orders were soon after received that no indiaman should sail without convoy ; and we lay here six months, during which time our captain (Montgomery) died.

While I was at St. Helena, the vessel which I came out from England in arrived here, homeward bound ; she being on the return from her second voyage since I came from England :—and now I made known my case to Captain Kerr, who readily took me on board the Princess-Royal, and used me kindly—and those of my old shipmates on board were glad to see me again. Captain Kerr at first seeing me, asked me if I was not afraid to let him

know who I was? and endeavoured to frighten me; yet his conduct towards me was humane and kind.— It had been very sickly on board the *Princess-Royal*, and the greater part of the hands which came out of England in her had died, and she was now manned chiefly with lascars, (country born people): among those who had died was the boatswain and the boatswain's mate, and Captain Kerr made me boatswain of the ship—in which office I continued until we arrived in London—and it protected me from being impressed at our arrival in England.

We sailed from St. Helena about the first of November, 1781, under convoy of the *Experiment* of 50 guns,* commanded by Captain Henry, and the *Shark* sloop of war of 18 guns⁽³¹⁾—and we arrived in London about the first of March, 1782,—it having been about two years and a half from the time I had left it.

In about a fortnight after our arrival in London,

* There is a mistake here. The *Experiment* of 50 guns was taken by the French, Sept. 24, 1779, when under the command of Sir James Wallace. Her successor, a 44 gun-ship, was not launched until 1784. The ship the writer alludes to was the *Renown*, of 50 guns, Capt. John Henry. For account of her see note ⁽³⁰⁾.

I entered on board the King-George,⁽³²⁾ store-ship bound to Antigua, and after four weeks passage arrived there—the second night after we came to anchor in Antigua, I took the ship's boat and made my escape in her to Montserrat,* which place had but just before been taken by the French.—Here I did not meet with the treatment which I expected; for on my arrival at Montserrat I was immediately taken up and put in prison, where I continued 24 hours, and my boat taken from me;—I was then sent to Guadaloupe,† and examined by the governor.—I made known my case to him, by acquainting him with the misfortunes I had gone through in my captivity and in making my escape—he seemed to commiserate me—gave me ten dollars for the boat that I escaped in, and provided a passage for me on board a French brigantine‡ that was bound from

* The Isle of Montserrat in the West Indies, was discovered by Columbus in 1493, and was planted by England in 1632. It was taken by the French, Feb. 18, 1782, and was restored to England in 1783.

† One of the West India Islands, Leeward Group. The Governor at this time was Capt. Gen. Thomas Shirley.

‡ This was a small, flat, open, light vessel, going both with sails and oars, being intended either for fighting or giving

Gnadaloupe to Philadelphia:—the vessel sailed in a few days—and now my prospects were favourable—but my misfortunes were not to end here ; for after being out 21 days, we fell in with the *Amphitrite* ⁽³³⁾ and *Amphene*, ⁽³⁴⁾ two British cruizers, off the Capes of Delaware, by whom we were taken, carried into New-York, and put on board the *Jersey* ⁽³⁵⁾ prison-ship—after being on board about a week, a cartel was fitted out for France, and I was sent on board as a French prisoner:—The cartel was ordered for St. Malo's,* and after a passage of 32 days we arrived safe at that place.

Finding no American vessel at St. Malo's, I went to the commandant and procured a pass to go by land to Port l'Orient ; † on my arrival there I found three American privateers belonging to Beverley, ‡ in the Massachusetts. I was much elated at seeing so many of my country, some of whom I was well

chase. These vessels were first used by pirates. The English brigantine was quite different ; in fact, the term was variously applied by the mariners of different European nations.

* A seaport town in France.

† A seaport town in France.

‡ Beverly, a post town in Essex Co., Mass. First settled, 1626. Population in 1860, 6,154.

acquainted with. I immediately entered on board the *Bucaneer*—Captain Phierson :—We sailed on a cruize, and after being out 18 days, we returned to L'Orient with six prizes.—Three days after our arrival in port we heard the joyful news of peace;—on which the privateer was dismantled, the people discharged, and Capt. Phierson sailed on a merchant voyage to Norway.

I then entered on board a brig bound to Lisbon, (Capt. Ellenwood⁽³⁶⁾ of Beverly), and arrived at Lisbon in eight days—we took in a cargo of salt, and sailed for Beverly, where we arrived the 9th of May, 1783,—being now only 15 miles from home.—I immediately set for Cape-Ann,⁽³⁷⁾ went to my father's⁽³⁸⁾ house, and had an agreeable meeting with my friends, after an absence of almost six years.

New-London May 10, 1788.

JOHN BLATCHFORD⁽³⁹⁾.

[N.B. *Those who are acquainted with the narrator will not scruple to give full credit to the foregoing account--and others may satisfy themselves by conversing with him. The scars he carries are proof of a part of his narrative--and a gentleman belonging to New-London, who was several months with him, was acquainted with part of his sufferings, tho' it was out of his power to relieve him.—He is a poor man, with a wife and two children—His employment fishing and coasting.*]



BOSTON, Dec. 6, 1864.

I have carefully compared the foregoing copy (40 pages) with the printed tract in the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society, and hereby certify that it is an accurate transcript of the same.

J. APPLETON,

Assist't. Lib'n.



NOTES.

(1) The HANCOCK was one of the thirteen vessels authorized to be built by resolution of Congress of Dec. 13th, 1775, and was one of the two frigates which, by that resolve, were ordered to be constructed in Massachusetts. She mounted 32 twelve-pounder guns, and was built at, or near Boston, in 1776. As soon as she was equipped and ready for sea, she was placed under the command of Captain John Manly, and soon after sailed on a cruise. On the 27th day of June, 1777, in company with the frigate Boston, of 24 guns, she took off the coast of New Foundland, the British frigate Fox, of 28 guns, after an action of about two hours' duration. On the 8th day of July following, after a chase of more than 30 hours, the Hancock was captured by the Rainbow, of 44 guns, commanded by Sir George Collier, and taken to Halifax. Capt. Manly is thought to have lost her in consequence of having put her out of trim by starting the water in her fore hold. She was subsequently purchased on behalf of the British government, and added to the navy under the name of the Iris.

On the 7th day of June, 1780, while under the command of Capt. James Hawker, she encountered off the coast of North America, the French 36-gun frigate *Hermoine*, M. la Fouche Treville, commander, and after a severe action of one hour and twenty minutes, the latter was compelled to sheer off. On the 16th day of March, 1781, being then under the orders of Capt. George Dawson, the *Iris* formed one of the squadron under Admiral Arbuthnot in the action off the Chesapeake, with the squadron under M. de Ternay. On the 9th of August following, while cruising off the capes of Delaware, she fell in with the American ship *Trumbull*, of 28 guns, Capt. James Nicholson. A sharp action commenced, and continued for over an hour with no definite result, when another British frigate came up, whereupon, the *Trumbull* struck her colors. In this engagement the *Trumbull* had four men killed and five wounded, and the *Iris* one killed and six wounded. Previous to the contest the *Trumbull* had lost her fore-top mast in a gale of wind. She was a valuable prize, having five hundred barrels of fresh Philadelphia flour and bread on board. On the 10th day of September following, the *Iris* was sent to cut away the French buoys at the anchorage ground near the Chesapeake Bay, when she was intercepted and captured by the French squadron under M. de Barras. She was subsequently added to the French navy under the same name. During the time she was held by the British, she proved herself one of the fastest ships on the American station, and captured so many rich prizes, that she is said to have made the

fortunes of all who commanded her. Her place in the British service was supplied by another frigate, of the same name and force, which was built on the river Thames in 1783. The *Iris* remained in the possession of the French until the year 1793, when she was blown up at Toulon, as a magazine, by the Spaniards.

(2) Capt. JOHN MANLY was a native of Massachusetts, and was born in the year 1733. After receiving the rudiments of education, he embraced the maritime life, and soon became noted for his energy and professional merit. In 1775 he commanded the schooner *Lee*, and in November of that year, took the *Nancy*, a transport bound to Boston, and laden with valuable munitions of war, of which the colonists were then in great need. While in this command he made other valuable prizes, one of which he captured in sight of the British fleet in Boston harbor. His zeal and enterprise attracted the attention of Congress, and that body, in the following year, appointed him a captain in the navy, and gave him the command of the *Hancock*, a beautiful frigate of 32 guns, then building in Massachusetts. In this vessel he captured the *Fox*, June 27th, 1777, and in July following this prize was retaken by the *Flora* of 32 guns, Capt. Brisbane. About the same time, the *Hancock* struck to the *Rainbow*, Sir George Collier, after a long chase, and was taken with her crew to Halifax. In a few days after, Capt. Manly was conveyed to New York, where he remained a prisoner until the month of April of the year fol-

lowing. He was then released and returned to Boston, when his conduct was investigated, but the result of the inquiry left him without reproach. Soon after this he was put in command of the *Cumberland*, a new privateer of 20 guns, and in Jan., 1779, while cruising in her off the southern coast, was taken by the *Pomona* frigate of 28 guns, Capt. Waldegrave, and carried into Barbadoes, where he and his officers were imprisoned. Finding that their applications for paroles were rejected, they determined to attempt their escape. This they effected by taking possession of a Bermudian sloop, and steering their course for Martinico, where they arrived in safety and sold their vessel. On his return home, Capt. Manly was appointed to the privateer *Jason*, of 20 guns, which vessel had just before been taken from the British. On the 25th July, 1779, while on a cruise in her, he was attacked by two British privateers, one of 18 and the other of 16 guns. Reserving his fire, Capt. Manly ran between the privateers, and poured his starboard broadside into one, and his larboard broadside into the other with great effect, whereupon both his opponents struck their colors. In the month of August following, while cruising off the coast of Nova Scotia, he took a ship of 14 guns, and 20 men. In November, after an obstinate engagement of four glasses, Capt. Manly was captured by the *Perseus* frigate of 20 guns. In this contest the *Jason* lost 18 killed and 12 wounded, and the *Perseus* 7 killed and 10 wounded. Having been exchanged, Capt. Manly was on the 11th Sept., 1782, appointed to the frigate *Hague*, formerly the

Deane, of 32 guns, and sailed for the West Indies. A few days after leaving Martinique, he was desecrated by a British 74, and to avoid capture, he ran his ship on a sand bank near Guadeloupe. While thus exposed, he is said to have sustained the fire from the enemy's ships for three days with undaunted firmness. On the 4th he got off, when, hoisting his colors at the main-top-gallant-mast, and firing 13 guns in farewell defiance, he made his escape and arrived safely in Boston, where, this exploit having gained him much eclat, he was received with marked attention. Capt. Manly continued in command of the *Hague*, and his ship was one of the last cruisers at sea in the war. She was frequently chased, and made many narrow escapes. After the peace, Capt. Manly returned to Boston, and retired to private life. He died in that city, Feb. 12, 1793, in the 60th year of his age.

(3) The *Fox* was a British frigate mounting 28 guns, four of which were four-pounders, and the remaining twenty-four long nine-pounders. She was registered as a sixth-rate, and was built on the river Thames in the year 1774. She was placed under the command of Capt. P. Fotheringham, and in 1776 formed one of the squadron at New Foundland, under John Montagu, vice-admiral of the white. On the 27th day of June, 1777, while on a cruise near the Banks of New Foundland, she fell in with the American frigates *Hancock*, of 32 guns, and *Boston*, of 24 guns. An action commenced and continued for about two hours. During the engagement the *Fox* took

fire in the main chains, where a number of wads had been deposited. Upon this, the Americans ceased firing until the flames were extinguished, when the contest was resumed. The Fox being at length reduced to a wreck, and having sustained a severe loss in killed and wounded, Capt. Fotheringham ordered the colors to be hauled down. The Lieut. of Marines, Hon. James J. Napier, was among the wounded. In July following, while the prize was being conveyed by her captors to Boston, the British ship *Rainbow* hove in sight and gave chase to the *Hancock*, while the *Boston* effected her escape. During the chase, the 32-gun frigate *Flora* came up and recaptured the Fox, and carried her into Halifax. The Fox, after undergoing repairs, was again taken into the British service. She was placed under the orders of Hon. Thomas Windsor, manned with a crew of 200 men, and in 1778, formed one of the fleet of Admiral Keppel, which in July of that year was cruising off Brest in search of the French fleet under Comte d'Orvilliers. On the 10th of September following, while off the French coast, she was chased by the 34-gun frigate *Junon*, commanded by Vicomte de Beaumont. The weather being thick and hazy, the *Junon* was not perceived until close aboard of the Fox, when the latter hove to and awaited the approach of the Frenchman. An action commenced, and lasted for three hours, when the Fox, being totally dismasted, having several guns disabled, 11 men killed, and Capt. Windsor and 49 of his men wounded, many of them mortally, hauled down her colors. The *Junon* had a crew of

330 men, and carried six 6-pounders and 28 long twelves. The Fox was succeeded in the British navy by a 32-gun frigate of the same name, of 697 tons burden, built at Bursledon, in the year 1780.

PATRICK FOTHERINGHAM was made lieut. on the 13th day of Dec., 1760, promoted to commander April 1, 1765, and raised to the rank of captain, Sept. 2, 1773. About the year 1772, he was appointed to the sloop Merlin, of 18 guns, in which vessel he seems to have served until 1775, when he was made capt. of the Fox, of 28 guns, and soon after, ordered to North America. Capt. Fotheringham was tried by court-martial at Portsmouth, March 3, 1778, for the loss of his ship, and he and his officers were honorably acquitted. He was soon after appointed to the Resource, of 28 guns, in which frigate he remained for the usual period. He died in the West Indies in the spring of 1781, while captain of the ship Ruby.

(4) The RAINBOW was registered as a fifth-rate, carried 44 guns, and was built on the river Thames in 1761, to succeed a 40-gun ship of the same name, then broken up. The dimensions of our vessel were as follows: length of gun-deck, 131 feet 3 in.; of keel, 108 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; breadth, 37 ft. $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.; depth in hold, 16 ft.; tons, 831. In the year 1762, she was placed under the orders of Capt. Mark Robinson, and formed one of the Havanna squadron under Commodore Elliot, at which time she carried a crew of 380 men. In 1764 she was commanded by Capt. Walter Sterling, and was on duty in

North America. She remained on this station till 1766, when she returned home and was put out of commission. A short time after the prospect of a rupture with Spain had passed away, Capt. Charles Fielding was appointed to the *Rainbow*, then equipping for service at Chatham, a command which he retained for nearly two years. Towards the conclusion of 1771, Thomas Collingwood was placed in command of her, and he seems to have remained in her for the usual period of three years, doing duty a part of the time on the coast of Guinea. At the commencement of the dispute with the North American colonies, she was placed under the orders of Sir George Collier, and came to America with Commodore Hotham, and a large re-inforcement of troops for the army under Gen. Howe. In 1776 she co-operated with the army in the reduction of New York, and in 1777 she was stationed at Halifax, where she was one of a small squadron employed in protecting the fisheries as well as the trade in that quarter. In the month of July, being on a cruise, she fell in with, and after a long chase, captured the *Hancock* frigate of 32 guns and 290 men—a ship esteemed at that time the finest in the American service, and one of the fastest sailing vessels ever built. After this, the *Rainbow* proceeded to Machias, and along the coast of New England, burning the vessels and destroying the stores intended for the contemplated invasion by the Americans of Nova Scotia. In the beginning of 1779 she was one of a squadron that sailed from New York in company with transports conveying troops under Gen. Matthew

to Hampton Roads, and she co-operated with the army in the reduction of Norfolk, Suffolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport. A short time after this, John Kendall was appointed to her, and shortly after, she returned home and went into dock at Chatham. Having been thoroughly overhauled, she was placed under the orders of Henry Trollope, and sailed on the 2d day of Sept., 1782, for Plymouth, to join Commodore Elliot in the Channel. When off the Isle of Bas, she fell in with and captured the French frigate *La Hebe*, of 40 guns and 360 men, then on her way from St. Malo to Brest, with a convoy, which in the chase, being close in shore, got into Morlais in safety. In the engagement, the *Rainbow* lost only one man, while her opponent had her 2d capt. and four men killed, besides several wounded. Among the latter was Mons. de Vigny, the commander of the French vessel. The *Hebe* being a fine ship, was purchased by government, and added to the Royal navy under the same name. This action appears to have been the last active service of the *Rainbow*, for we find her in 1784 reported as a hulk. Shortly after this she was fitted up as a receiving ship, and stationed at Woolwich. She was used in this capacity until about the year 1801, when she was broken up. The "*Rainbow*" seems to have been a favorite name in the British navy, as we read of one as early as 1594, in a squadron under Sir Martin Frobisher, sent to aid the French in their attack upon Brest, which was then in possession of the Spaniards.

SIR GEORGE COLLIER was born in 1738. He entered the

navy when about thirteen years of age, and served part of his time with Sir George Pocock. He was made commander, Aug. 6, 1761, and attained the rank of captain, July 12, 1762. About this time, he was appointed to the *Bologne*, of 32 guns, in which vessel he served till the following year, when peace having taken place, he was appointed to the *Edgar*, of 60 guns, then a guard-ship at Plymouth. In 1770, he was commissioned to the *Tweed* frigate, and sailed on a cruise in the Channel in a small squadron under the Duke of Cumberland. He subsequently commanded the *Levant*, of 28 guns, and afterwards the *Flora*, of 32, and in 1775, received the honor of knighthood. About this time he was appointed to the *Rainbow*, of 44 guns, and in 1776, proceeded in her to North America. He assisted in the reduction of New York in that year, and in 1777, commanded the detachment of the fleet stationed at Halifax, distinguishing himself greatly by his energy and activity. In July he captured the American frigate *Hancock*, of 32 guns, and soon after bringing her into port, he proceeded to Machias, where he destroyed the magazines and store-houses filled with flour, rice and other articles, which the Americans had collected there for a contemplated invasion of Nova Scotia, and subsequently burnt 30 sail of vessels along the coast of New England. He continued on that station till March, 1779, when he moved into the *Raisonable* of 64 guns, on board of which he hoisted his broad pendant as commander-in-chief, pro tempore, on the American station. In May following, he commanded the fleet in the expedition to Virginia,

and in conjunction with a land force under Gen. Matthew, took possession of Portsmouth, Norfolk, Gosport and Suffolk, capturing a large quantity of stores, cannon and ammunition, and destroying many vessels and much property of all kind. After his return to New York, he assisted in the reduction of Stony Point, Fort Lafayette and Verplanck's Point, subsequently co-operated with Gen. Tryon in the destruction of Norwalk, Fairfield and Greenfield, and in July following went to the relief of Penobscot, where he signally defeated the American fleet under Saltonstall, capturing and destroying the whole force, amounting to 37 large armed vessels. After this he returned to New York, where he found Admiral Arbuthnot, to whom he resigned the command of the squadron, and then returned to England. In 1780 he was appointed to the *Canada*, of 74 guns, one of the ships belonging to the Channel fleet; in the following year he accompanied Admiral Darby to the relief of Gibraltar, and in 1784 was elected M. P. for Honiton. In 1790, on the expectation of a rupture with Spain, he was appointed to the *St. George*, of 98 guns; but the dispute being accommodated, the *St. George* was paid off. On the 1st Feb., 1793, he was made rear-admiral of the white, on the 12th April, 1794, rear-admiral of the red, and on the 12th July following, vice-admiral of the white, which was the highest rank he lived to attain. In Jan., 1795, he was appointed to the chief command at the Nore, but was compelled to resign on account of ill health. He died on the 6th day of April following. Sir George had blue eyes, light hair,

and fair complexion. Though of medium height, he was well proportioned and very active. As a private individual, he was amiable and benevolent, sociable and pleasant; as an officer, brave, active and persevering, cool and determined in battle, slow to punish, but a strict observer of discipline. He was possessed of much literary taste, and was the translator of *Selima and Azor*, a dramatic romance, which was successfully performed at Drury Lane Theatre in 1776. He was twice married. His first wife was Miss Christiana Gwyn, to whom he was united in 1773. By her he had one son. His second wife was Miss Elizabeth Fryer, to whom he was married in 1781. By her he had two daughters and four sons. The latter all entered the service of their country—two in the army and two in the navy. George, the eldest of the four, became lieutenant-colonel of the Coldstream Guards, and was killed in his 31st year in the sortie from Bayonne, March 10, 1814.

(s) The *FLORA* was a fifth-rate British frigate, mounting 32 guns. She was formerly the *Vestale* French frigate of 32 guns, and was captured off the French coast on the 8th January, 1761, by the *Union* frigate of 28 guns, Capt. Joseph Hunt, after a severe action, in which Capt. Hunt was killed, and M. Boisbertelot, the commander of the *Vestale*, had his leg shot off, in consequence of which he died the next day. The *Vestale* was repaired and added to the British navy, under the name of the *Flora*. In 1762 she was stationed in the

Downs, and was then commanded by Capt. Gamaliel Nightingale. She remained on home duty but a short time, as peace took place soon after, and she was then put out of commission. Her next employment appears to have been in 1773, at which time she was commanded by Capt. George Collier, and was on the home station. Soon after the commencement of the contest with the colonies, Capt. John Brisbane was appointed to her, and in 1776 she was ordered to North America with a convoy. She was employed here subsequently on a variety of desultory service. In July, 1777, she re-captured the Fox, a frigate of 28 guns, which had been taken on the Banks of New Foundland, a short time before, by the American frigates Hancock and Boston. In the summer of 1778, she was one of the small squadron under Capt. Brisbane, that was stationed off Rhode Island, to protect that post and distress the commerce of the neighboring coast. While thus employed, the French fleet, under Comte d'Estaing, comprising 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates, made its appearance off Rhode Island on the 28th of July, and after several previous indications of attack in less force, entered the harbor of Newport on the 8th day of August following. In consequence of this, the officers of Capt. Brisbane's squadron, then lying in the harbor, were reduced to the necessity of burning or sinking their ships, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, and the Flora was one of those that were sunk. Her place in the British navy was supplied by a 36-gun frigate, of the same name, which was built at Deptford in the year 1780, and

which, after serving with distinction, was lost on the 18th January, 1808, by striking upon Schelling Reef. The 32-gun frigate *Flora*, the subject of our sketch, after being submerged for some time, was at length weighed by the Americans, and sold by them to the French, who gave her the name of the *Flore*. On the 7th September, 1798, she was captured off the French coast, after a long chase, by the *Phaëton* frigate of 38 guns, Hon. Robert Stopford, and the *Anson* frigate of 44 guns, Philip C. Durham. Her subsequent history we have been unable to learn further than that she was sold soon after she was brought into port.

JOHN BRISBANE was appointed lieutenant, Aug. 5, 1757, and was raised to the rank of captain on the 24th Sept., 1760. For a short time he commanded the *Nightingale*, a 20-gun ship, on the American station. After this he was appointed to the *Echo*, a 24-gun frigate, lately taken from the French, and was ordered to the West Indies. He continued there till the end of the war, when he returned home, and his ship was put out of commission. In 1769 he was appointed to the *Cerberus*, of 28 guns, and after being in her a short time, he returned to Chatham, when his ship was laid up. Soon after the commencement of the American revolution, he was appointed to the *Flora*, of 32 guns, and in 1776 sailed in her to America, where he had been ordered with a convoy. In July, 1777, he recaptured the *Fox* frigate of 28 guns, and in the summer of the following year, was stationed off Rhode

Island as senior or commanding officer of a small squadron. Having lost his ship while in this command, he returned home in the fall, when he was appointed to the *Alcide*, a new ship of 74 guns. In December, 1779, he sailed with Sir George Rodney to Gibraltar, but was not materially, if at all, engaged in the action with the Spanish squadron. He subsequently proceeded to the West Indies, and thence to America, after which he was sent home by Sir George Rodney, with the information of that officer's arrival on the American station with the West India detachment. He reached England in December, and then quitted the command of the *Alcide*. In the ensuing year he was appointed to the *Hercules*, of the same force, but in consequence of impaired health, he was under the necessity of resigning this command in December following. On the 21st September, 1790, he was made rear-admiral of the blue, and on the 12th April, 1794, was advanced to vice-admiral of the blue. On the 4th July following, he was raised to vice-admiral of the white, and on the 1st June, 1795, was advanced to vice-admiral of the red. He died on the 10th December, 1807. He had by his wife, Mary, two daughters and also six sons, three of whom died in the service of their country. The widow of Admiral Brisbane died at Brighton, April 29th, 1817.

(6) The *CABOT* was a brig of 189 tons burden, mounted 14 guns, believed to be six-pounders, and was purchased by Congress in 1775. On the 22d December of that year, the

command of her was given to Capt. John B. Hopkins, and in February following, she formed one of the squadron under Commodore Ezek Hopkins, in his attack upon New Providence. On her return she engaged the Glasgow frigate of 20 guns, Capt. Tyringham Howe; but the latter being too heavy a force for her, she was compelled to sheer off, having her captain wounded, her master killed, and a number of her crew injured. She was subsequently placed under the command of Capt. Elisha Hinman, and in the month of October she took two ships from Jamaica bound to London, with sugar, rum and indigo, five ships and a brig, all from Jamaica, one of them a 3-decker, with upwards of 600 hhds. on board. Her next commander was Capt. Joseph Olney. While under his orders, in March, 1777, she was chased on shore on the coast of Nova Scotia by the British frigate Milford, of 28 guns, Capt. John Burr, (see Allen's Battles Brit. Navy, vol. i., p. 242,) who pressed her so hard that she had barely time to get her people out. Capt. Olney and crew, after abandoning their vessel, retreated to the woods, and subsequently seized a schooner, in which they got home in safety. The enemy, after a long trial, got the Cabot off. She was taken into the British service, under the same name, and placed under the command of Edward Dodd. On the 13th May, 1779, she was one of the squadron of Sir James Wallace that drove a division of the French force in Cancale Bay, in which service she had her purser killed and two of her men wounded. In 1780 she was under the command of Henry

Cromwell, and was one of the squadron of Vice-admiral Parker, in the battle with the Dutch squadron under Rear-admiral Zoutman, off the Dogger Bank, on the 5th day of August of the following year. In 1782 she was at Sheerness, and she appears to have been broken up or otherwise disposed of shortly afterwards.

CAPT. JOSEPH OLNEY was, we believe, a native of Rhode Island. In 1752 he was one of five citizens of Providence who were appointed to have the care of the town school-house. Previous to the Revolution, he kept for many years the principal public house in Providence. On the 22d December, 1775, he was appointed by Congress a lieutenant, and on the 10th October, 1776, was promoted to the rank of captain. He does not appear to have had any command after the loss of the Cabot. He probably retired to Providence and died there.

(7) The MILFORD was registered as a sixth-rate, carried 28 guns, and was built in 1759. In 1762 she was commanded by Robert Mann, 2d, and on the 7th day of March, when on a cruise in the bay, she fell in with and engaged the letter-of-marque *La Gloire*, from Bordeaux, bound to St. Domingo, pierced for 20 guns, but had only 16 six-pounders, and 10 swivels mounted, with a crew of 94 men. Capt. Mann receiving a mortal wound in the early part of the action, the command devolved upon Lieut. Day, who fought his ship with

great bravery, until he fell severely wounded. His place was then supplied by Lieut. Nash, who continued the engagement with spirit, and at length compelled his opponent to strike his colors. The *La Gloire* lost her mainmast in the action, had her rigging, sails and hull cut to pieces, and 6 of her crew killed and 18 wounded. The *Milford*, beside her captain and first-lieutenant, had 2 killed and 13 wounded. In 1763 the *Milford* was commanded by Capt. J. Reynolds, and was in service on the coast of Africa; in 1766 Thomas Cornwell was appointed to her, and in 1770 she was at Woolwich, probably undergoing repair. In the year 1775 Captain John Burr was appointed to command her, and in 1776 she came to America. In the month of June following, while cruising off Cape Ann, she fell in with and captured the American privateer *Yankee Hero*, commanded by Captain Tracy, of Newburyport, after a severe engagement of nearly two glasses. In the contest the *Yankee Hero* had four of her crew killed and fourteen wounded. Capt. Tracy was wounded in the leg. Lieutenant Main was badly injured, and Mr. Rowe, of Cape Ann, sustained the loss of an arm. In the month of September, while on a cruise off Cape Sable, the *Milford* fell in with the *Providence*, of 28 guns, commanded by Captain Paul Jones. An engagement ensued, and continued for several hours, when her opponent was compelled to sheer off. At the close of the year she fell in with the *Alfred*, of 28 guns, to which vessel Capt. Jones had recently been appointed. An action took place and lasted for some time, when the *Alfred*, avail-

ing herself of a hard gust of wind which arose, succeeded in effecting her escape. In March, 1777, the Milford chased the 14-gun brig Cabot, Capt. Joseph Olney, ashore on the coast of Nova Scotia, and in June, 1778, being then under the orders of Sir Wm. Burnaby, and attached to the fleet off Brest under Admiral Keppel, she, in company with another vessel, compelled the French frigate *Licorne*, of 32 guns, to haul down her colors. In August, 1779, she was one of the Channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy, and was attached to the centre division in line of battle. In 1780, Capt. Philip Patton was appointed to her, and under him she formed one of the Channel fleet in Torbay, under command of Vice-admiral George Darby. Having become leaky and in need of great repair, Capt. Patton quitted her, and she was soon after broken up. Her place in the navy was supplied by a 74-gun ship, which we find building in the year 1799.

JOHN BURR, who we believe commanded this frigate at the time referred to in the narrative, was made lieutenant in the year 1758; raised to commander, Sept. 13, 1769, and promoted to the rank of captain on the 15th day of October, 1773. In 1770 he commanded the sloop *Hound*, of 14 guns, and in 1775 was appointed to the Milford frigate, of 28 guns, which appears to have been his last command. He died (says Schomberg, vol. v., p. 346) in the year 1784.

(s) The following particulars we take from the papers of the day :

“HALIFAX, July 12.

This Day arrived his Majesty's Ship Rainbow, Sir George Collier, having brought into this Harbour, the HANCOCK Frigate, commanded by Mr. Manley ; the following are some Particulars relative to the meeting the Rebel Squadron under Manley, by his Majesty's Ship Rainbow, commanded by Sir George Collier.

ON Sunday the 6th July, at Half past 4 in the Afternoon (Cape Sambro' then bearing N. E. about 12 or 13 Leagues) we discovered three Sail from the Mast-head, which we immediately gave chase to, but from the Distance could form no Judgment of their Force, or what they were ; the Victor Brig was at this Time in Company, three or four Miles astern, and as her Rate of sailing was much inferior to that of the Rainbow, we made Signal for her to make more Sail, being apprehensive otherwise of separating from her ; at Sun-set we had gained so much on the Chace, as to discover they were large Ships, standing as we were close on a Wind, which was at W. N. W., and seemed to us a conclusive Proof that they were bound to some of the Ports in New-England ; we continued the Chace, and at Dawn of Day in the Morning saw them again about three Points on the Weather-Bow, with a Sloop in Company : the prest Sail we had carried all Night, had encreased the Distance from the Victor Brig so much, that she was no longer discernable from the Mast-head :—The

Ships we were in Chace of, were about five or six Miles distant, and from many Circumstances we had no doubt were part of the Rebel Fleet, who had sailed some Time before from Boston under the command of Mr. Manley; continuing the Chace, and gaining upon them, they quitted their Prize Sloop and set her on Fire, going off in a regular Line of Battle-a-head, and setting Top-gallant Royals, and every Sail that could be useful to them.

A little after six A.M. another Sail was discovered, standing towards the Rebel Ships; she crossed us on the contrary Tack, at about four Miles Distance; and put about, when she could fetch their Wakes; from her not making the *private Signal*, we had no doubt but that she was another of the Rebel Frigates, and therefore, *Sir George* paid no Regard to an English red Ensign she hoisted, and two Guns she fired to the Leeward.

About Ten in the Morning, the Enemy's Ships went away lasking; and three Quarters of an Hour afterwards, we were surprized to see several Shot exchanged between the Sternmost of them, and the Stranger who had last joined, and whom we had hitherto looked upon as another of their Fleet; we then hoisted our Colours, and soon afterwards the two Sternmost of the Rebel Frigates hawled their Wind, whilst the Headmost kept away about two Points from it; this brought the English Ship (which we afterwards found to be the *Flora*) more a breast of them, and she passed them to the Windward, exchanging a Broadside with each, and pursuing

the Fugitive, who from the Alteration two or three Times of her Course, seemed uncertain which to steer: The *Flora* gained fast upon her, which she perceiving, hawled her Wind again, and soon afterwards tacked and stood after her Comrades, exchanging a Broad-side with the *Flora* as they passed each other.

We were just putting about after the two Ships, when we observed this, which made us stand on something longer, before we tacked, hoping to get her within reach of our Guns as she passed us: We accordingly did so, but had not the good Fortune to bring down either a Mast or Sail by our Fire.

We tacked immediately after her, and soon afterwards saw the head-most Rebel Frigate put about, and pass us just out of Gun-shot to Windward; she appeared a very fine Ship of 34 Guns and had Rebel Colours flying; one of the Gentlemen on the Quarter Deck had been a Prisoner lately at Boston, and knew her to be the *Hancock*, on board of whom *Manley* commanded, who is the second in Rank in the Rebel Army.*

The Ship we had fired upon, out sail'd us fast; and soon after our tacking kept away lasking; whilst the other Frigate standing as we did, kept her Wind; we then found that one of the three must unavoidably escape, if they steered thus, different Courses; *Sir George* therefore judg'd it best to put about after the *Hancock*, who appeared the largest Ship, the *Rainbow*, passed the *Flora* very near, who continued pursuing the Ship we had fired upon.

* Intended for *Navy*.—ED.

It was about two o'Clock in the Afternoon (of Monday the 7th of July) that we tack'd after Mr. Manley, who seem'd at first rather to out-sail the Rainbow, but we understood afterwards that to endeavour making her sail better, he started his Water forward, and by that Means put her out of Trim: An Hour before the close of Day, he altered his Course, and kept away large, we however got so near to him before Dark, as enabled us (by Means of a Night Glass) to keep Sight of him all Night:—At Dawn of Day she was not much more than a Mile ahead of us, soon after which we saw a small Sail to Leeward, which we found to be the Victor Brig, who as we pass'd fired into the Rebel Frigate and killed one of the Men at the Wheel, but was not able for bad sailing to keep up or come near any more. About four in the Morning we began firing the Bow Chace upon her, with occasioned Broad-sides loaded with round and Grape, as we could bring them to bear, some of which struck her Masts and Sails. At half past eight we were so near as to hail her, and acquaint them that if they expected Quarters, they must strike immediately; Manley took a few Minutes to consider, and a fresher Breeze just then springing up, he availed himself of it, by attempting to set some of the steering sails on the other side, we therefore poured a Number of Shot into him which brought him to the expected Determination, and he struck the Rebel Colours a little before 9 o'Clock in the Morning, after a Chace of upwards of 30 Hours.

We immediately took Possession of her, and sent Part of the

Prisoners on board the Rainbow; she prov'd to be the Hancock of 34 Guns, 12 Pounders, and had upwards of 229 Men on board; she is a very capital and large Frigate, is quite new of the Stocks, and tho' from her Foulness and their Mismanagement we came up with her, yet we are informed that she is one of the fastest sailing Ships ever built.

The Prisoners inform'd us that the Ship the Flora was in Chase of, was his Majesty's Ship the Fox, of 28 Guns, which Manley had lately taken on the Banks of New Foundland, after a close and very warm Action of two Hours; the other Frigate was the Boston, of 30 Guns, commanded by McNeill. . . Capt. Fotheringham of the Fox, and 40 of his People were on board the Hancock, but his Officers and some other of the Men were on board the Boston Frigate, and the Remainder ashore at New Foundland.

After exchanging the Prisoners we found it necessary from their Number being almost as many as our own Ship's Company, to return to this Port.

Manley seem'd much chagrin'd at his not having engaged the Rainbow, when he found she was but a 40 Gun Ship, as he had all along mistaken her for the Reasonable, whom he knew was very lately at Louisbourg.

We hear the Prize Sloop which the Rebel Fleet set Fire to when chac'd by the Rainbow, was call'd the Brittonia, and laden with coals from Louisbourg for Halifax, Hinxman, Master."

Gaine, Mon: Aug: 4, 1777. No. 1345.

"NEW-YORK, August 4.

Wednesday last the Syren Frigate arrived here from Halifax, and has brought Capt. Fotheringham of the Fox, and about 40 of his Seamen, with Captain Manley and his first Lieut. the latter commanded the Fox when taken by the Flora. We hear Mr. Manley is on board the St. Albans.

A letter from Halifax, dated the 13th of July, says, "The public Prints will inform you of the retaking of the Fox Frigate, by the Flora, Capt. Brisbane, as also the taking of the Hancock, Manley, by the Rainbow."

Gaine, Mon: Aug: 4, 1777. No. 1345.

"BOSTON, April 23.

Last Tuesday arrived in town from New-York, where he has long been held a prisoner, the brave John Manley Esq. late Commander of the Continental Frigate Hancock."

Holt's N. Y. Journal, Mon. May 19, 1778.

See also

Compilation by G. S. Ranier from Official Papers,

Brit. Naval Chronicle, Vol: 32, pp. 266-400.

"Detail of Particular Services, &c." pub: by

Whiel Town, N. Y., 1835.

Allen's Battles British Navy, vol. i. pp: 242-244.

(9) HALIFAX, the capital of Nova Scotia, was settled in 1748. It was originally called Chebucto, and received the name of Halifax, in honor of Lord Halifax, a member of the British ministry. The city is on the west side of Halifax harbor, and on the declivity of a commanding hill. Its appearance in 1760 is thus described by Alex. Grant, in a

letter to Rev. Dr. Stiles, dated Halifax, May, 1760, (see Mass. Hist. Collec., 1st series, vol. x., p. 79.) "This place is divided into three towns—Halifax, Irishtown, and Dutchtown. The whole may contain about 1,000 houses, great and small, many of which are employed as barracks, hospitals for the army and navy, and other publick uses. The inhabitants may be about three thousand, one-third of which are Irish, and many of them Roman Catholicks; and about one-fourth Germans and Dutch, the most industrious and useful settlers among us; and the rest English, with a very small number of Scotch. We have upwards of one hundred licenced houses, and perhaps as many more which retail spirituous liquors without licence; so that the business of one-half of the town is to sell rum, and of the other half to drink it."

The city, at the present day, is about two miles in length, is well laid out in oblong squares, the streets parallel, and at right angles. Many of the houses are of wood, plastered and stuccoed, but many also are handsomely built of stone. The public buildings are substantial structures. The population in 1852 was 26,000, and the total value of exports \$2,846,917.

Queen's Slip, formerly called Governor's Slip, is on the east side of the city, near the centre of the original town. Here the Governors, on their arrival from Europe, usually landed. They were here received by the Council, etc., and were thence escorted to the Council Chamber, to be publicly sworn into office. Hence arose its name "*Governor's Slip*."

(10) Through the courtesy of M. M. Jackson, Esq., U. S. Consul at Halifax, the following particulars, furnished by Beamish Murdock, Esq., the Historian of Nova Scotia, have been placed at our command :

“On the west or upper side of Hollis street, not far from the Halifax Hotel, there is an old wooden building, now in ruins, which is known as the *Old Jail*,” in which Ethan Allen, Hon. Jas. Lovell and others are said to have been confined, and which is thought to have been the building alluded to in the text. “This building, as originally built, was a long, one-story house, with a sharp pitched roof, running perhaps 50 to 60 feet in length from the street to the end of the lot. It stood on a rough kind of stone wall which elevated it a few feet, (perhaps six feet) above the ground, and steps were attached to the building outside, not on the street, but within the enclosure. It was used as a prison not only during the Revolution but also in 1786. About 150 yards from the Jail, stood in the last century, a brick building built by Malachi Salter, which was at one time used as a Sugar House. It was situated at the corner of Salter and Pleasant streets. It is not known to have been used as a prison.”

The following notices of the “*Old Jail*,” we take from the papers of the day :

“Boston, September 1.

Our American Prisoners (to the Number of 31) are confined in the Common Gaol of Halifax (a lousy, filthy, unwholesome Place) and are treated in the most inhuman and barbarous Manner possible, having nothing to live upon but salt Provisions (and that very scanty)

thrown in among Negroes, Robbers, &c., and are told, they know no distinction."

N. Hampshire Gazette, Sat., Aug. 3, 1776.

"SALEM, Jan. 10.

Since our last a cartel arrived from Halifax with upwards of 100 prisoners, many of them in a very emaciated, sickly condition. Five of the number which came out, died on the passage."

Pennsylvania Packet, Thurs., Feb. 7, 1782.

(11) The Boston was one of the 13 vessels authorized to be built by resolution of Congress of Dec. 13, 1775, and was one of the two frigates which were ordered by that resolve to be constructed in Massachusetts. She mounted 24 guns, and was launched at or near Boston in 1776. She was placed under the command of Capt. Hector McNeil, and soon after sailed on a cruise. She was in company with the Hancock in June, 1777, when the Fox frigate was taken, and also at the time when the Rainbow was first discovered, but made her escape without affording her comrade any assistance. After her return to port, she was placed under the command of Capt. Samuel Tucker, and continued under his orders as long as she remained in the American service. In the early part of 1778 she carried John Adams to France, he having been appointed a commissioner in place of Silas Deane, who had been recalled. On her way she captured three very valuable prizes, one of which, the Martha, was laden with bale goods to the amount, as was supposed, of £80,000. As Mr. Adams was upon urgent business, the Boston was not able to remain with her prize,

and it was subsequently retaken by the *Rainbow*. The *Boston* on her voyage made several narrow escapes from destruction. Among other dangers, she was struck by lightning, which shattered her mast and came very nigh blowing her up, the fire when extinguished having nearly reached the magazine of powder. She reached Bordeaux, however, on the 1st April, in safety, and in consequence of the treaties of commerce and alliance having been signed before the arrival of Mr. Adams, that gentleman soon returned in her to America. On the 9th Aug., 1779, the *Boston*, in company with the ship *Deane*, Capt. Samuel Nicholson, captured off the capes of Virginia, the ship *Glencairn*, from Glasgow, of 20 guns and 30 men; on the 12th took the Sandwich packet from New York, bound to Falmouth, Eng., of 16 guns and 60 men; on the 23d made a prize of the brigantine *Venture*, from Madeira, of 2 guns and 20 men; and on the 24th captured the *Thorn*, of 18 guns, but mounting only 14, and having a crew of 135 men. During the latter part of 1779 and the fore part of 1780, the *Boston* formed one of the squadron of Commodore Abraham Whipple, that cruised along the Southern coast, capturing a number of merchant vessels. While thus employed, she, with other American ships, on the appearance of the British fleet, put into Charleston, S. C., for safety, and on the surrender of the city, May 12, 1780, she was one of the vessels that were captured by the enemy.

CAPT. HECTOR McNEIL was appointed by Congress to the command of the *Boston* frigate, June 15, 1776. He was with

Capt. Manly at the taking of the Fox, but when the Rainbow and Flora hove in view, he sought his own safety in flight, rendering his companion no assistance whatever. A court-martial was shortly afterwards held upon his conduct, when being found guilty of cowardice, he was dismissed the service forthwith.

(12) THIS is not the only occasion when a deceased American prisoner was so interred. We give another instance, occurring much nearer home.

“On the 4th day of Feb., 1841, some workmen, while engaged in digging away an embankment in Jackson street, near the Navy Yard, accidentally discovered a quantity of human bones, among which, horrible to relate, was a skeleton, having a pair of *iron manacles still upon the wrists.*”

Thompson's Hist. of Long Island, vol. i., p. 244.

(13) The GREYHOUND was registered as a sixth-rate, carried 24 guns, and was built about the year 1775, as successor to a 20-gun ship which was broken up about that time. In the year 1776, our vessel was placed under the command of Capt. Archibald Dickson, and ordered to North America. She proceeded to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where she took General Howe on board as a passenger, and then sailed for New York, arriving at Sandy Hook on the 25th day of June. In the month of August following, she co-operated with the British army in the reduction of New York, and was one of the

frigates stationed in Gravesend Bay on the 22d of that month, to cover the landing of the troops. In 1779 she was one of the squadron of Sir George Collier, and in the month of August, assisted in the signal destruction of the American squadron, under Commodore Saltonstall, in Penobscot Bay, soon after which she returned to England with despatches. In the latter part of the year she composed one of the fleet of Sir George B. Rodney, in the West Indies, at which time she was under the orders of Capt. William Fookes, who was succeeded in command of her by Capt. William Fox. Under the latter officer the Greyhound was lost upon the South Sand Head in the year 1781. Her crew were saved. She was succeeded in the service by a 36-gun frigate of the same name, which we find building at Betts' Yard, in Mistleythorne, in the year 1783.

(14) ARCHIBALD DICKSON was made lieut., Sept. 19, 1759; commander, Jan. 10, 1771; and raised to rank of capt. in 1773. In 1776 he was appointed to the Greyhound frigate, and continued in her for the usual period. He carried home the particulars of the destruction of the American fleet in Penobscot Bay, and was presented by the British Admiralty with £500 for the intelligence he brought. In 1782 he commanded the Dublin, of 74 guns; in 1787 the Goliah, of the same force, then employed as a guard-ship; and in 1793 the Egmont, also of 74 guns. He was made rear-admiral of the white in 1794, vice-admiral of the blue in 1795, admiral of the blue in 1801, and April 13, 1802, was created a baronet. He died in the

spring of 1805. Sir Archibald Dickson, Bt., was the brother of William Dickson, admiral of the blue, who died in 1803.

(15) The VULTURE was a British sloop-of-war, carrying 14 guns, and was built about the year 1776. She was placed under the orders of James Feattus, and formed one of the fleet of Vice-admiral Lord Howe. She continued under Feattus until 1779, when Andrew Sutherland was appointed to command her. In the summer of this year she formed one of the squadron of Sir George Collier that, in conjunction with a land force under Gen. Vaughan, captured Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson. In the month of September of the following year, she conveyed Major Andre up the North River to hold the interview with Arnold, and was the vessel in which that arch traitor made his escape to the British lines. In 1782 she was at Jamaica, and was commanded by Walter Griffith, and in the latter part of the year following she was at Portsmouth. In 1793 she was reported as a hulk, and she appears to have been broken up or otherwise disposed of shortly afterwards.

JAMES FEATTUS was made lieut., 1757, and promoted to commander, July 7, 1761. In 1775 he commanded the sloop Speedwell, and in 1776 was appointed to the Vulture. He died about the year 1785.

(16) JOHN BYRON, second son of William, the fourth Lord Byron by Frances, his third wife, 2d daughter of William Lord

Berkeley, of Stratton, was born Nov. 8, 1723. He served as a midshipman under Commodore Anson on his voyage round the world, and had the misfortune to be cast away in the *Wager*, on a desolate island, off the coast of Chili, where he suffered great hardships, an affecting account of which will be found in his "Narrative," to which we refer the reader. On the 30th Dec., 1746, he was made post-captain, and appointed to the *Syren* frigate. In 1753 he commanded the *Augusta*, of 60 guns, and in 1757 the *America*, of the same force. In the spring of 1760 he commanded the *Fame*, of 74 guns, and was employed in the squadron which co-operated with the army at the conquest of Canada, where he rendered important service. In 1764 he made a voyage to the South Sea, and on the 3d June, 1769, was appointed Governor of Newfoundland. In March, 1775, he was made Rear-ad. of the blue, and in May, 1777, Rear of the white. In Jan., 1778, he was made Vice-ad. of the blue, and was soon after appointed to the command of a large squadron, and ordered to North America. He sailed on the 9th of June, and on the 3d of July, a violent gale of wind arose, which dispersed his squadron, Admiral Byron, with his flag on board the *Princess Royal*, arriving alone off Sandy Hook on the 18th of August. He thence sailed for Halifax, where he found one of his squadron that had arrived before him. The remaining ships came in one by one, with sickly crews and damaged rigging. He was thence ordered to the West Indies, and his action there with D'Estaing, July 6, 1779, though undecisive, was honorable to the British fleet.

Soon after this event he returned to England and struck his flag. He was raised to Vice-ad. of the white, Sept. 6, 1780, and died in London, April 10, 1786, in his 63d year. Though a gallant, zealous and accomplished officer, he was extremely unfortunate, having always the elements to contend with instead of the enemy. Admiral Byron had a family of 2 sons and 7 daughters, by Sarah, daughter of John Trevannion, Esq., of Cartrays, Cornwall, whom he married in 1748. Capt. Byron, one of his sons, was father to the celebrated poet.

(17) The PRINCESS ROYAL was registered as a 2d rate, carried 98 guns, and was built at Portsmouth in 1773. Her length of gun-deck was 177 ft. 6 in., of keel, 145 ft. 5 in., breadth, 50 ft. 6 in., depth in hold, 21 ft., tons, 1,973. In 1777, on the prospect of a rupture with France, Capt. Mark Milbank was appointed to command her; in May Vice-admiral Byron hoisted his flag on board, and on the 5th of June of the following year, she sailed in a strong squadron for America. In 1779 she was commanded by Capt. William Blair, and on the 6th of July was in the action off Grenada with the French fleet, under D'Estaing, when she had 3 of her crew killed and 6 wounded. She returned home soon after. In Dec. she bore the flag of Rear-ad. Hyde Parker, and in the following year composed one of the fleet of Sir George Rodney, in the actions with the French fleet, under Comte de Guichen. In 1781 she was stationed at Jamaica, and she returned home in November. In 1782 she was under the orders of Jonathan Faulkner, and

in Sept. following, sailed in the fleet of Lord Howe to the relief of Gibraltar. In the action with the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Spartel, on the 20th Oct., she had a crew of 750 men, and occupied the 1st or starboard division in the centre squadron in line of battle, which was under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief. In Jan., 1783, she was at Portsmouth, composing one of the fleet on that station, under Sir Thomas Pye, Admiral of the white. In 1790, on a rupture with Spain being apprehended, Sir William Hotham hoisted his flag on board her as commander of the rear division of the Channel fleet, but the dispute being accommodated, the fleet was dismantled, and Admiral Hotham struck his flag. In 1793 she was one of the squadron of Vice-admiral Cosby; in the following year was under the orders of John Child Purvis, and formed one of the Mediterranean fleet, under Lord Hood. In 1795 Rear-ad. Goodall had his flag on board her, and she bore a part in the engagements with the French, March 14 and July 13th, occupying, in the first engagement, the starboard division in the van squadron, and having a crew of 760 men, of which 3 were killed and 8 wounded. In 1796, being then still under Capt. Purvis, she bore the flag of Vice-ad. Robert Linzee, who was commander of a squadron in the Mediterranean, under Sir John Jervis, Admiral of the blue. In the following year she was under the orders of Capt. John Draper, and was the flag-ship of Sir John Orde, Rear-admiral of the white. In 1799 Capt. J. W. T. Dickson was in command of her, at which time she bore the flag of Rear-ad.

Thomas L. Frederick, and in July she returned home and went into repair. After coming out of dock, Thomas M. Russel was appointed to her, and in 1800 she was one of the fleet of Admiral Lord Bridport, employed on home service. In 1801 she was under the orders of Capt. D. Atkins, and was the flag-ship of Sir Erasmus Gower, who held a command in the Channel fleet; in 1803 she was under Capt. James Vashon, and in the year after was refitting at Chatham. In 1806 she was commanded by Capt. R. C. Reynolds, and she appears to have been broken up or otherwise disposed of about the year 1810.

MARK MILBANK, said by some to have commanded this ship at this time, was the 3d son of Ralph Milbank, Bt., of Halnaby, York Co., and was born about 1721. He was made commander Sept. 13, 1746, and capt., May 21, 1748. He was advanced to Rear-admiral of the white, March 19, 1779, to Vice of the blue, Sept., 26, 1780, and in 1793 became a full admiral. He died on the 10th June, 1805, from a fall over the staircase of his house, in the 84th year of his age.

(18) SIR RICHARD HUGHES was the son of Sir Richard Hughes, for many years commissioner of the Dock-yard at Portsmouth, and was born in Deptford, Kent Co., Eng., in 1729. When yet a boy, he went to sea as a midshipman, with his father, and in 1741 served in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Matthews. So young was he at this time, that he

was under the necessity of shaving his head and wearing a whip to obtain a manly appearance. In 1745 he was made a lieut., and was promoted to the rank of captain, Nov. 10, 1756. He subsequently commanded the Fox and Thames frigates, and in 1768 was appointed to the Firm, of 60 guns, then a guard-ship at Plymouth. After quitting this ship, he was made capt. of the Worcester, of 64 guns, and in 1777 moved into the Centaur, a 74, then employed on the home station. He was afterwards appointed Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia and commissioner of the Dock-yard at Halifax. This station he filled until his promotion to Rear-ad. of the blue, Sept. 26, 1780, about which time he succeeded, on the death of his father, to the title of baronet. During his stay at Halifax, he caused the woods to be inspected and surveyed, obtained masts, spars and other naval stores for the government dock-yards, on the most advantageous terms, and his conduct otherwise was so meritorious, that on his return home he was honored by the king with a private audience, and received his Majesty's thanks. He became Vice-ad. of the blue in 1790, and on the 14th Feb., 1799, was raised to Admiral of the white. He died on the 5th day of January, 1812. Sir Richard was an active and gallant officer, and in private life possessed all the qualities of a well-bred gentleman. He had a taste for the belles lettres, and possessed also considerable poetical talent. His wife, to whom he was united about 1760, was the grand-niece of the celebrated Sir Hans Sloane, and daughter of Hans Sloane, Esq., M. P., a wealthy and respectable Commoner.

(19) The HAZARD was a British sloop-of-war, mounting 8 guns, and appears to have been built about 1763. In 1767 she was under the orders of Denis Every, and was in the fleet of Vice-admiral Holburne, on home service. In 1769 she was commanded by Thos. Premble, and was at Sheerness, and in 1770 was under the orders of James Orrock, who was succeeded in command of her by John Ford. In 1778 and the year following, she was commanded by Alex. Agnew, in 1780 by G. A. Pulteney, and in the year following by I. Pellew. She appears to have been removed from service soon afterwards.

ALEXANDER AGNEW was made lieut., Aug. 7, 1761, and raised to commander, Nov. 20, 1771. In 1779 he commanded the Hazard sloop, and in 1781 was in command of the sloop Fury of 16 guns. He appears to have died or retired from the service about 1782.

(20) THE French fleet, under M. D'Orvilliers, consisting of 28 sail of the line and several frigates, sailed from Brest, June 4, 1779, for Cadiz, where it formed a junction with the Spanish fleet. The combined fleet, consisting of 66 sail of the line, on the 15th Aug. following, escaping the notice of the English fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy, then cruising in the soundings, sailed up the English Channel, and paraded for three days before Plymouth, insulting the English coast, capturing several coasting vessels, and bidding defiance to the whole

navy. This circumstance greatly tarnished the naval character of England.

(21) The PRINCESS AMELIA was registered as a 3d rate, carried 80 guns, and was built in 1757. In the year following she was commanded by Capt. John Bray, and composed one of the fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, at the reduction of Lewisbourg and Quebec. In Sept., 1759, she was under the orders of Stephen Colby, was the flag-ship of Thomas Broderick, Rear-ad. of the white, and formed one of the fleet of Sir Edward Hawke that was fitted out against Rochfort, and the following year she was under Capt. James Montague, in Admiral Boscawen's fleet in Quiberon Bay. In the spring of 1761 she was in the squadron of Capt. Matthew Buckle, stationed off Brest, to prevent supplies being sent to Belle Isle, and the year after she was under the orders of Capt. Viscount Howe, was the flag-ship of the Duke of York, and composed one of the fleet sent in quest of M. de Ternay, and subsequently one of the fleet of Sir Charles Hardy, that made a cruise in the bay. In 1763 she was under Capt. R. A. Tyrrell, and in 1766 was at Portsmouth. We find her on that station until 1772, when she was commanded by Capt. Samuel Marshall, was the flag-ship of Vice-ad. Geo. B. Rodney, and stationed at Jamaica. In the latter part of the year she returned home, and was laid up at Portsmouth. On the approach of a rupture with France, which took place in 1778, Capt. Digby Dent was appointed to her, and she formed one of the fleet then fitting

for sea at Portsmouth, at which time Sir Thomas Pye had his flag on board. In 1780 she was commanded by Capt. John McCartney, and was one of the fleet of Admiral Geary, then cruising in the Soundings, and the year after, she was the flag-ship of Sir Hyde Parker, and bore a part in the action with the Dutch fleet, under Rear-ad. Zoutman, off the Dogger Bank, Aug. 5. In this engagement, Capt. McCartney and a gunner were killed and three lieuts. wounded. After the death of McCartney, the command of the ship was given to John McBride, and she returned home soon after the battle. In June, 1782, being then under the orders of Billy Douglas, she formed one of the squadron of Lord Howe, cruising in the North Sea, and in July she was cruising with Howe in the Soundings. In October she was commanded by Capt. John Reynolds, was the flag-ship of Sir Richard Hughes, and was one of the fleet of Admiral Lord Howe, that sailed to the relief of Gibraltar, and had a partial action off Cape Spartel with the French and Spanish fleets. On this occasion she was in the 2d or starboard division in the rear squadron, and of a crew of 715 men, had 4 killed and 5 wounded. She was subsequently on duty in the West Indies, under John W. Payne, and the year after returned to England. She came to anchor at Chatham, where she was turned into a church ship. She was used in that capacity until about 1788, shortly after which she was broken up. Her place was supplied by a 74-gun ship of the same name, which in 1800 was building in the king's yard at Chatham.

DIGBY DENT was the son of Capt. Cotton Dent, who died in 1761, one of the captains of Greenwich Hospital. The subject of our notice was made capt., July 7, 1758. In 1778, being then capt. of the *Princess Amelia*, he received the honor of knighthood at the time the king reviewed the fleet at Portsmouth. On the 24th Sept., 1787, he was advanced to the rank of Rear-admiral, and placed upon the superannuated list. He died, Nov. 15, 1798, leaving his widow and eight children in very distressed circumstances.

(22) The *BRITANNIA* was a British ship of the line, registered as a 1st rate, carrying 100 guns, and was built at Portsmouth, Eng., in 1762, to take the place of another ship of the same name and force, which was about that time abandoned. The dimensions of our vessel were as follows: length of gun-deck, 178 feet; keel, 145 feet 2 in.; breadth, 52 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; depth in hold, 21 ft. 6 in.; tons, 2,091. After being stationed at Portsmouth for several years, in the latter part of 1778, Capt. John Moutray was appointed to her, she being intended as a flag-ship. At the close of the following year, we find her under the command of Capt. Charles Morice Pole, and the flag-ship of George Darby, Vice-ad. of the white, he being at that time the second in command of the Channel fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy. In 1780 she was under the orders of Capt. James Bradby, and was the flag-ship of the fleet, under Vice-ad. Darby, that sailed from Spithead on the 14th day of March, 1781, with a large convoy of victuallers, transports, etc., to the

relief of Gibraltar. In December she was the flag-ship of Richard Kempenfelt, Rear-ad. of the white, and was one of his squadron which on the 13th of that month intercepted the French West India convoy that had sailed from Brest under the command of M. de Guichen. In July, 1782, being then under the orders of Capt. Benjamin Hill, she formed one of the fleet of Admiral Lord Howe, cruising in the Soundings, at which time Samuel Barrington, Vice-ad. of the white, had his flag on board her. She subsequently accompanied Lord Howe to intercept the Dutch squadron, and was afterwards at the relief of Gibraltar. In the subsequent encounter which took place with the combined fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Spartel, Oct. 20th, she was in the 1st or starboard division in line of battle, which division was commanded by Vice-ad. Barrington, whose flag-ship she then was. In this engagement, she had 20 of her crew killed and wounded. After this she returned to England, and was put out of commission. On the commencement of the war with France, in 1793, she was again put in service, being then under the orders of Capt. John Holloway, and the flag-ship of Vice-ad. Lord Hotham, who was appointed the second in command of the Mediterranean fleet, under Lord Hood. On the return of the latter to England in Nov., 1794, the command of the squadron became invested in Vice-ad. Hotham, who was employed during the winter in watching the enemy's ports, scouring their coasts, and affording protection to British commerce, and in the month of November, of the following year, she returned home,

and was again laid up. In January, 1796, Capt. Shulldham Pearl was appointed to her, and in May following he was succeeded by Capt. Thomas Foley, with Vice-ad. Sir Hyde Parker's flag. In April, 1797, she was the flag-ship of Charles Thomson, Vice-ad. of the blue, and was doing duty in the Mediterranean, being one of the fleet stationed there, under the command of Sir John Jervis, Admiral of the blue. In the month of June, Capt. Edward Marsh was appointed to command her, shortly after which she was fitted up as a hospital-ship, at Portsmouth, and placed under the orders of Lieut. Matthew Connolly. In this capacity we find her in the year 1798 and 1799, and perhaps for several years later. In the year 1803, on the commencement of hostilities, having been thoroughly overhauled, she was placed under the command of Earl Northesk, and proceeded to the Channel, where she served in the fleet stationed there till the following year, when her capt., being promoted Rear-ad. of the white, he soon after hoisted his flag on board her, and continued on the same service till August, 1805, when he was detached with a squadron, under Sir Robert Calder, to reinforce the fleet of Admiral Collingwood, off Cadiz. The *Britannia* was subsequently in the engagement off Trafalgar, where she was the 4th ship in the lee line in action, and in a short space of time completely dismantled a French ship of 80 guns. She afterwards, singly, engaged and kept at bay three of the enemy's van ships, that were attempting to double upon the *Victory*, at that time warmly engaged with two of the enemy, and much disabled.

On this occasion the loss of the *Britannia* was 52 killed and wounded. Soon after the engagement, the *Britannia* returned to England, and was not again put into commission. She appears to have been broken up about 1813, at which time we find building at Plymouth a 120-gun ship of the same name, the successor to the subject of our notice.

CHARLES MORICE POLE was the 2d son of Reginald Pole, Esq., of Stroke Damarell, and was born Jan. 18, 1757. He was made lieut. in 1773, and obtained post-rank, March 22, 1779. He was made Rear-admiral of the blue, June 1, 1795, Vice-admiral in 1801, and knighted about the same time. In 1805 he was raised to Admiral of the blue, and in 1818 received the Grand Cross of the Bath. He died about the year 1830.

(23) SIR THOMAS PYE was made Capt., April 13, 1741. In 1745 he was one of the members of the court martial convened at Port Mahon for the trial of Capt. Richard Norris. In 1748 he was appointed to the *Norwich*, in the following year to the *Humber*, and in the year after was one of the members of the court martial held for the trial of the mutineers on board the *Chesterfield*. In Feb., 1752, he was appointed to the *Advice*, of 50 guns, and sent to the West Indies as Commodore on that station. He continued there until 1756, when he was superseded by Commodore Frankland. Charges having been made against him by Mr. Frankland, our officer, in 1758, was brought to a court martial at Portsmouth, when he was reprimanded

for misconduct. In July following he was made Rear-ad. of the blue; in 1759, Rear of the white; in 1760, Rear of the red; and in 1762, was advanced to Vice-ad. of the blue. In 1764 he was appointed Port-admiral at Plymouth, and after serving some time in that position, was again sent to the Leeward Island station, where he remained until 1770, when he returned home. On the 28th of October following, he was made Vice-ad. of the red, and early the succeeding year was sent to the Mediterranean as commander of a small squadron. On his return home he was appointed commander-in-chief at Portsmouth. On the 25th of June, 1773, when the king reviewed the fleet and dockyards at that station, our officer received the honor of knighthood, and was raised to the rank of Admiral of the blue. On the 28th of Jan., 1778, he was advanced to Admiral of the white, and in the same year he acted as President of the court martial held at Portsmouth for the trial of Admiral Keppel. In 1779 he again commanded at Portsmouth, and in 1780 was made Lient.-general of marines. He died at Marylebone, Feb. 23, 1785. Admiral Pye was one of those men of ordinary capacity, on whom fortune, not merit, often bestows the highest honors. With an awkward figure, and an address by no means pleasing, he was fond of show, and much addicted to intrigue; and to a narrow understanding and shallow attainments, he united an inordinate degree of personal vanity and supercilious consequence. It is painful to see one, who was never signalized by any brilliant achievement, rise by rapid strides to naval rank, and the

really brave and worthy tar pine away in anguish and despair, and die unnoticed and forgotten.

(24) The PRINCESS ROYAL Indiaman was captured by the French in the Straits of Sunda, in the year 1793. At the time of her capture, she was under the command of J. Horneastle.

(25) We find the following notices of two of these ships :

“The Ceres, Hawke, and other East India ships, arrived at Crookhaven, in Ireland, in December, 1781.”

Gentlemen's Magazine, 1781.

“The Hawke sailed for Bengal on the 16th of November, 1783, and was to be returned from thence to Bombay with a cargo of rice, and then to proceed to China.”

Gentlemen's Magazine, 1783.

(26) The English East India Company was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and was empowered to carry on an exclusive trade with “all those new countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.” About the year 1698, application being made to Parliament by private merchants for laying this trade open, an act was passed empowering every subject of England, upon raising a sum for the supply of government, to trade to those parts. Upon this, a great many persons subscribed, and the association thus formed, was called the New East India Company. The old company, being masters of all the forts on the coast of India, the New Company found it

to their interest to unite with them, which they did, and the trade was henceforth carried on with the joint stock, under the style of the United East India Company. The company was formed for purely commercial purposes, and during the first hundred and fifty years of its existence, retained its commercial character, only combining with it so much of warlike enterprise and precaution as was necessary to secure its richly laden ships from being plundered by the fleets of pirates that infested the Indian Seas, and its factories from being burnt or pillaged in the never-ending wars and rebellions among the native chiefs. The company, however, gradually became a corporation of conquerors, and then assumed all the functions of the government of an immense empire, surrendering gradually the operations of traffic to individual merchants, who traded under the shelter of its power. The discipline practiced on board the East India ships was extremely severe. The charter of the company expired within a few years past.

(27) The following articles we take from the newspapers of the day:

“LONDON, *August 5.*

* * * * *

“As every Rebel, who is taken prisoner has incurred the pain of death by the law martial, it is said that government will charter several transports, after their arrival at Boston, to carry the culprits to the East Indies for the Company’s service, as it is the intention of government only to punish the ring-leaders and commanders *capitally*, and to suffer the inferior

Rebels to redeem their lives by entering into the East India Company's service. This translation will only render them more useful subjects than in their native country."

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Holts' N. Y. Journal, Thurs., Oct. 19, 1775. No. 1711.

"A LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND SILAS DEANE,
ESQUIRES, TO LORD STORMONT, THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR
AT PARIS.

PARIS, April 2, 1777.

My Lord,—

We did ourselves the honor of writing some time since to your Lordship on the subject of exchanging prisoners; you did not condescend to give us any answer, and therefore we expect none to this: we however take the liberty of sending you copies of certain depositions which we shall transmit to Congress, whereby it will be known to your Court, that the United States are not unacquainted with the barbarous treatment their people receive when they have the misfortune of being your prisoners here in Europe; and that if your conduct towards us is not altered, it is not unlikely that severe reprisals may be thought justifiable, from the necessity of putting some check to such abominable practice.

For the sake of humanity it is to be wished that men would endeavour to alleviate as much as possible the unavoidable miseries attending a state of war. It has been said, that among the civilized nations of Europe the ancient horrors of that state are much diminished; but the compelling men by chains, stripes and famine to fight against their friends and

relations, is a new mode of barbarity which your nation alone has the honor of inventing, and the sending American prisoners of war to Africa and Asia, remote from all probability of exchange, and where they can scarce hope ever to hear from their families, even if the unwholesomeness of the climate does not put a speedy end to their lives, is a manner of treating captives, that you can justify by no other precedent or custom, except that of the black savages of Guinea.

We are, your Lordship's most obedient humble Servants,

B. FRANKLIN,

Lord Viscount

S. DEANE.

STORMONT."

"To the above letter the following insolent reply was made :

" 'The King's Ambassador receives no Letters from Rebels, except when they come to ask mercy.' "

COPY OF THE DEPOSITIONS ABOVE REFERRED TO.

"The Deposition of Eliphalet Downer, Surgeon, taken in the Yankee privateer, is as follows :

That after he was made prisoner by Captains Ross & Hodge, who took advantage of the generous conduct of Capt. Johnson of the Yankee to them his prisoners, and of the confidence he placed in them in consequence of that conduct and their assurances, he and his countrymen were closely confined, yet assured that on their arrival in port they should be set at liberty, and these assurances were repeated in the most solemn manner, instead of which, on their approach to land they were,

in the hot weather of August, shut up in a small cabin, the windows of which were spiked down and no air admitted in, so much that they were all in danger of suffocation from the excessive heat. Three or four days after their arrival in the river Thames, they were relieved from this situation in the middle of the night, hurried on board a tender and sent down to Sheerness, where the deponent was put into the *Ardent*, and there falling sick of a violent fever in consequence of such treatment, and languishing in that situation for some time, he was removed still sick to the *Mars*, and notwithstanding repeated petitions to be suffered to be sent to prison on shore, he was detained until having the appearance of a mortification in his legs, he was sent to Haslar hospital, from whence after recovering his health, he had the good fortune to make his escape. While on board those ships and in the hospital, he was informed and believes that many of his countrymen, after experiencing even worse treatment than he, were sent to the East Indies, and many of those taken at Quebec were sent to the coast of Africa as soldiers."

"The Deposition of Captain Seth Clark, of Newbury Port, in the State of Massachusetts-Bay, in America, is as follows :

That on his return from Cape Nichola Mole to Newbury Port, he was taken on the 17th of September last by an armed Schooner in his Britannic Majesty's service, — Coats, Esq., Commander, and carried down to Jamaica ; on his arrival at which place, he was sent on board the *Squirrel*, another armed

vessel, — Douglass, Esq., Commander, where, although master and half owner of the vessel in which he was taken, he was turned as a common sailor before the mast, and in that situation sailed for England in the month of November, on the 25th of which month they took a schooner from Port a Pe to Charlestown, South Carolina, to which place she belonged, when the owner Mr. Burt, and the master Mr. Bean, were brought on board; on the latter's denying he had any ship papers, Capt. Douglass ordered him to be stripped, tied up and then whipped with a wire cat of nine tails that drew blood every stroke, and then on his saying that he had thrown his papers over board; he was untied and ordered to his duty as a common sailor, with no place for himself or people to lay on but the decks. On their arrival at Spithead, the deponent was removed to the Monarch, and there ordered to do duty as a fore-mast man, and on his refusing on account of inability to do it, he was threatened by the Lieutenant, a Mr. Stoney, that if he spoke one word to the contrary, he should be brought to the gang-way and there severely flogged.

After this he was again removed and put on board the Bar-fleur, where he remained till the 10th of February. On board this ship the deponent saw several American prisoners, who were closely confined and ironed, with only four men's allowances to six. These prisoners and others informed this deponent that a number of American prisoners had been taken out of the ship and sent to the East Indies and the coast of Africa, which he was told would have been his fate, had he arrived

sooner. This deponent further saith, That in Haslar hospital, to which place, on account of sickness, he was removed from the *Barfleur*, he saw a Captain Chase, of Providence, New England, who told him, that he had been taken in a sloop of which he was half owner and master, on his passage from Providence to South Carolina, by an English transport, and turned over to a ship of war, where he was confined in irons 13 weeks, insulted, beat and abused by the petty officers and common sailors, and on being released from irons was ordered to do duty as a fore-mast man until his arrival in England, when being dangerously ill, he was sent to said hospital.

PARIS, March 30, 1777."

Pennsylvania Journal, Aug. 6, 1777.

(28) The JACK is the fruit grown on the Jack tree, *Artocarpus jaca*, and is eatable, being of a pleasant flavor. The Jack belongs to the Artocarpeæ family, which are confined entirely to the tropics. The fruit which was eaten by our hero and his companion, and which is also confined to the tropics, was the Manchineal, *Hippomane mancinella*, of the family of Ficarium Cochinchinense, some of the fruit of which is eatable. The Manchineal is very beautiful and attractive in its appearance, and very pleasant when first tasted, but soon becomes so caustic as to corrode the mouth, and occasions severe vomiting, resulting in death. It is exceedingly poisonous, and is often mistaken for the jaca.

(29) We find the following notice of this ship in one of the papers of the day :

“LONDON, Oct. 31.

Capt. Rogers, of the Stormont, East Indiaman, on her passage to St. Helena, took a French snow under American colors, of which he first learned of hostilities being commenced between England and France. Capt. Rogers, thinking himself in danger of being taken, if he continued with his prize, released her, joined the other ships, and acquainted them with the dangerous situation they were in, but fortunately saw no privateers or French men-of-war.”

Holt's N. Y. Journal, Mon., March 1, 1779.

(30) The REXOWN was a 4th rate, carried 50 guns, and was built in 1774 as successor to a 40-gun ship which had been broken up. In 1775 our vessel was placed under the orders of Capt. Francis Banks, and ordered to North America, and in the following year she formed one of the fleet of Vice-ad. Lord Howe on that station. In September she was one of the squadron under Sir Peter Parker that co-operated with the army under Sir William Howe, in the reduction of New York. On the 18th day of June, 1777, Capt. Banks died while in command of his vessel, and was succeeded by John Bourmaster. In the following year she was under the orders of George Dawson, and in the month of August, was one of Lord Howe's fleet off Sandy Hook, in the presence of the French fleet. Here she fell in with the Tonnant, of 84 guns, and gave her several broadsides, but other French vessels coming up,

the *Renown* was obliged to sheer off. Subsequently she engaged the *Languedoc*, of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, which had lost all her masts, and in that condition was met by Capt. Dawson, who attacked her with resolution, pouring several broadsides into her, carrying away her rudder, and doing her other damage, but the darkness of night prevented him from taking her. On the 5th day of July, 1779, the *Renown* was one of a squadron, under Sir George Collier, that co-operated with a body of troops, under Major-General Tryon, in the destruction of Fairfield, Norwalk and Greenfield, and in February, 1780, she was one of a squadron that sailed from New York, under Vice-ad. Arbuthnot, to co-operate with Sir Henry Clinton in the reduction of Charleston, South Carolina. In 1781 she was under the command of John Henry, and in December of that year, she formed one of a squadron, under Rear-ad. Kempenfelt, that was sent to intercept the French West India convoy, which had sailed from Brest, under the command of M. de Guichen. In 1782 and the following year she was one of the squadron in North America, under command of Robert Digby, Rear-admiral of the red. She returned to England at the establishment of peace, and in 1784 was undergoing repairs at Chatham. She appears to have been broken up about 1796, in which year we find her successor, a 74-gun ship, building at Dudman's Yard in Deptford.

JOHN HENRY was made lieut., April 27, 1757, promoted to commander, April 16, 1777, and raised to the rank of captain

on the 22d day of November following. In 1778 he commanded the 24-gun ship Fowey, and in the month of May of that year, in conjunction with a land force, under Major Maitland, destroyed the American magazines then erecting in the Delaware, and captured the 32-gun frigate Washington and 28-gun frigate Effingham, besides a brig and a sloop. In 1780 he was promoted to the Providence, of 32 guns, an American frigate captured at Charleston, and in the following year was appointed to the Renown, of 50 guns, in which he continued to the end of the war. Capt. Henry died on the 6th day of August, 1829.

(31) The SHARK was a British sloop of 16 guns, and was launched at Hull in 1780. Her predecessor had been purchased by Sir George Rodney, and sailed with him to the West Indies, but foundered on the way. Howell Lloyd, her captain, and part of her crew perished. The sloop which is the subject of our notice was in 1781 under the command of Isaac Vaillant, and in the year following formed one of the squadron in the West Indies, under Commodore Johnston, at which time she was commanded by Robert McDouall. In 1783 she was under the orders of John Maitland, and was cruising in the North Seas, and in the succeeding year she was commanded by Valentine Edwards, and employed on home service. She continued under the latter commander for the usual period, and was then put out of commission. In 1791 she was under the orders of Hon. A. K. Legge, and was

employed as a cruiser in the English and Irish Channels until 1793, when, being under command of Scory Barker, she formed one of the squadron of Sir Richard King, at Newfoundland. She was subsequently under J. O'Brien, and during the three following years was attached to the squadron of Sir James Wallace, who had succeeded King as commander on that station. After this, she was on duty in the North Sea, under Francis Warren, and she appears to have been succeeded in 1799 by another sloop of the same name and force.

ISAAC VAILLIANT was the eldest son of Paul Vaillant, an eminent bookseller, who held at one time the office of Sheriff of London. The subject of our note was made lieutenant, Nov. 25, 1761; commander, Oct. 8, 1777; and captain, Nov. 23, 1780. In 1777 he commanded the *Nabob*, an armed vessel, and in 1780 was appointed to the sloop *Shark*. He was made a superannuated Rear-admiral in 1799, and died at Riacknell Banks, Oct. 25, 1804, aged 65 years.

(32) This vessel was lost in November, 1805, near the island of Fernando de Noronha, in the South Atlantic Ocean. She was then used as an artillery transport ship. Her crew and the artillery troops that had embarked in her, were all taken off before she sunk. Brig.-Gen. York, of the artillery, was drowned while endeavoring to reach the shore.

(33) The *AMPHITRITE* was registered as a sixth-rate, carried 24 guns, and was built in 1778. In the month of May she was

commanded by Thos. Gaborian. In October, 1779, she was under the command of Capt. James Montague, and was cruising off the coast of Spain. In 1780 she was under the orders of Capt. Robert Biggs, and was one of the squadron, under Rear-admiral Thomas Graves, that sailed on the 17th of May for America. In the year following she sailed from Sandy Hook in Admiral Graves' fleet for the Chesapeake. In March, 1782, she took the brig Peggy from Virginia, bound to the West Indies, with a cargo of flour, and in April following she took the privateer ship Franklin. In October, in company with another vessel, she captured two brigs laden with lumber, a ship with silks, from Bilboa, and a privateer schooner, as well as retook two brigs from Virginia, laden with tobacco. She returned to England at the restoration of peace, and went into repair at Woolwich. In 1793 we find her again in commission, she being then under the orders of Capt. Anthony Hunt, 2d, and being one of a squadron of ships that sailed from Spithead for the Mediterranean on the 22d of May, under the command of Vice-ad. Lord Howe. She was wrecked soon after reaching her station, by striking upon a sunken rock. Her captain and crew were all saved. She was succeeded in the navy by a 28-gun frigate that was formerly the Pomona, built at Southampton in 1778 and broken up in 1811.

ROBERT BIGGS was made lieut., Aug. 7, 1761; commander, Jan. 10, 1771; and raised to the rank of captain, March 18, 1778. In 1771 he commanded the Grace, an armed cutter,

and in 1774 the sloop *Favorite*, of 16 guns. In 1778 he commanded the *Lively*, of 20 guns, and on the 8th day of July of that year, having been ordered to watch the motions of the French fleet off Brest, under *Compte D'Orvilliers*, upon a fog clearing up, he found himself in the midst of the enemy, whereupon he was compelled to strike his colors. In 1780 he was appointed to the *Amphitrite*, of 24 guns, and ordered to North America, on which station he remained till the end of the war, when he returned home. He was made Rear-ad. of the white in 1795, Vice-ad. of the blue in 1799, and in the year following was raised to Vice-ad. of the white. He died at Catisfield, Hants, on the 11th day of July, 1803.

(34) The *AMPHION* was a fifth-rate British frigate, mounting 32 guns, and was launched at Chatham, Dec. 25th, 1780. Her dimensions were as follows: Length of gun-deck, 126 ft. 1 in.; of keel, 104 ft. 3 in.; breadth, 35 ft.; depth, 12 ft. 2 in.; tons, 679. As soon as she was equipped and ready for service, she was placed under the command of Capt. John Bazely; and in the spring of 1781, in company with the *Ostridge* sloop of war, commanded by Sir Jacob Wheate, and the armed ship *Britannia*, convoyed to America 23 sail of transports, with about 3,000 German troops, arriving at New York in the month of August, after a passage of 93 days. On the 10th day of September, she formed one of a small squadron, under Capt. Bazely, which in conjunction with a land force, under Gen. Arnold, destroyed the town of New London, with several

magazines of stores, and all the shipping in the harbor. In October following she was one of the fleet, under Rear-ad. Digby, that sailed from New York to the relief of Cornwallis at Yorktown. In the line of battle she was one of the frigates attached to the centre division, which was under the command of Thomas Graves, Rear-ad. of the red. In the month of February, 1782, being on a cruise, in company with the Cyclops frigate, of 28 guns, she captured the *Lamblaset*, a large French ship, of 16 guns, from Guadaloupe, bound to Virginia, and in the following month she took the French ship *La Favourite*, of 16 guns, bound from Bayonne in France, to Philadelphia. In May following, the *Amphion* made a prize of the schooner *Governor Livingston*, Captain Moses Griffin, bound from St. Vincent to Philadelphia, and in November she took a sloop, bound from St. Croix to Rhode Island, where she was owned, commanded by Capt. Whipple, and laden with a valuable cargo of rum. The *Amphion* remained on the American station, under Capt. Bazely, until the end of the war, when she returned home. After being overhauled at Woolwich, Capt. John Brown was appointed to her, and he was succeeded by Capt. Henry Nichols, who in his turn gave up the command to Capt. Herbert Sawyer, under whom, in 1793, she formed one of the fleet of Rear-ad. Kingsmill, on the Irish station. In the following year she appears as one of the squadron at Newfoundland, under Rear-ad. Sir James Wallace. In 1795 Capt. Israel Pellew was appointed to her, under whom she continued a short time at Newfoundland, and returned

home the following year. She subsequently cruised a short time in the North Sea, and was then ordered to join the squadron of frigates, under Sir Edward Pellew, employed off the coast of France. On her way thither, having sustained some damage in a hard gust of wind, she put into Plymouth for repair. She anchored in the Sound, Sept. 19, 1796, and went into the harbor the following morning. On the 22d, at about half-past 4 p.m., a violent shock, like that of an earthquake, was felt at Stonehouse, and extended as far off as the Royal Hospital and the town of Plymouth. The sky towards the dock appeared red like the effect of a fire, and for nearly a quarter of an hour the streets were crowded with people running to and fro in the utmost consternation. When the alarm and confusion had somewhat subsided, it was ascertained that the shock had been caused by the explosion of the *Amphion*. The upper works in the fore part of the ship had been blown to atoms, and she had almost immediately sunk in ten fathoms of water. As the ship was expected to sail the next day, there were nearly 300 persons on board at the time of the calamity. About 100 of these were visitors, who had come to take leave of their friends and relatives before their departure. Of the large number on board, not more than 40 were saved, and the greater portion of these were more or less injured. Capt. Pellew, her commander, was severely wounded, but recovered. Capt. Swaffield, of the *Overyssel*, who was at dinner with him, was killed, as were also most of the officers who were on board at the time. Several bodies

were picked up by the boats. Most of those who remained alive were conveyed in a mangled state to the Royal Hospital. Arms, legs, and lifeless trunks were collected and deposited at the Hospital for identification. As the ship had been originally manned from Plymouth, the number of people who were afterwards seen there in deep mourning for their lost relatives, was truly melancholy. The explosion is supposed to have been caused by the carelessness of the gunner in going among the gunpowder, without using the necessary precautions. The *Amphion* was succeeded by a frigate of the same name and force, which was built at Betts' yard, in Mistlethorne, in the year 1798.

JOHN BAZELY was born in Dover, in the county of Kent, Eng., about 1740. He entered the navy in 1755, and became lieutenant, April 7, 1760. On the 22d Sept., 1777, while in command of the *Alert* cutter, of 10 guns and 60 men, he captured the brig *Lexington*, of 16 guns and 84 men, of whom 7 were killed and 11 wounded. The *Alert* had 2 killed and 3 wounded. For this achievement he was promoted to the rank of commander. On the 15th April, 1778, he was advanced to post-captain in the *Formidable*, of 90 guns, the flag-ship of Sir Hugh Palliser, in the fleet under the command of Admiral Keppel. In the action off Brest on the 27th July, he was, of course, present, and his ship had a greater number of killed and wounded than any other of the fleet. Capt. Bazely was subsequently moved to the *Pegasus*, of 28 guns. On the 8th

Jan., 1780, he participated in the capture of a valuable Spanish convoy, and on the 16th of the same month was engaged in the action with the Spanish fleet off Cadiz. He afterwards, for a short time, commanded the frigate *Apollo*, and was then appointed to the *Amphion*, of 32 guns, in which he continued to the end of the American war. On the return of peace he was appointed to the *Alfred*, of 74 guns, then a guard-ship at Chatham, and was subsequently under Howe in the memorable engagement of 1st June, 1794. He afterwards moved to the *Blenheim*, of 98 guns, and served in her, under Admiral, Lord Hotham, in the Mediterranean. On the 1st June, 1795, he was made Rear-ad. of the white, and by subsequent promotions attained the rank of Vice-ad. of the red. He died at Dover, April 6, 1809, at the age of 69 years.

(35) The "*JERSEY*" was originally a British ship of the line. She was registered as a 4th-rate, carried 60 guns, and was built in 1736, as successor to a 50-gun ship, which had been condemned as unfit for further duty. The first service of our ship was in 1737, when she was one of the Channel fleet, under Sir John Norris. In 1739 she was commanded by Edmund Williams, and composed one of the Mediterranean fleet, under Rear-admirals Nicholas Haddock and Sir Chaloner Ogle, and she was subsequently one of the squadron that was designed against Ferrol. In 1741 she was commanded by Peter Lawrence, and in March of that year, she bore the flag of Sir Chaloner Ogle, at which time she composed one of the fleet of

Admiral Vernon, in his unsuccessful expedition against Carthage. In 1743 Harry Norris was appointed to her, who in 1744 was succeeded in command of her by Charles Hardy, subsequently Governor of New York. Under this officer she formed, in the following year, one of the Mediterranean fleet, under Vice-admiral Rowley. On the 26th of July, while on a cruise off Gibraltar, she fell in with the *St. Esprit*, a French ship of 74 guns. An engagement ensued, and lasted for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, when the *St. Esprit*, being much damaged, was compelled to sheer off. The *Jersey* being also much crippled, was unable to pursue her, and accordingly put into Lisbon for repair. She subsequently served in the Mediterranean fleet, under Admiral Medley, and then returned home. In Oct., 1748, the *Jersey* was reported as a hulk, and in 1755, after being put into repair at Chatham, and manned with a crew of 420 men, she was placed under the orders of Sir William Burnaby, in anticipation of a rupture with France. In 1757 John Barker was appointed to her, and under him she formed one of the Mediterranean fleet, under Henry Osborne, Admiral of the blue. In 1759 she composed one of the fleet of Admiral Boscawen, in his maneuvers against the French squadron, under M. de la Clue, and she was one of the three ships that made the unsuccessful attempt to cut away two of the enemy's vessels in the harbor of Toulon. About the latter part of the year Andrew Wilkinson was appointed to her, under whom she composed one of the Mediterranean fleet, under Vice-admiral Saunders, until near the termination of the war. In

1766 William Dickson was appointed to command her as captain to Sir Richard Spry, who hoisted his flag on board, and continued in her as commander of a small squadron in the Mediterranean till 1768. In the following year she sailed from Plymouth for Newfoundland, taking the Hon. John Byron, the newly appointed Governor of that colony, as a passenger, and bearing his flag on board. She returned home at the end of the year and put into Chatham, where she was soon after fitted up as a hospital-ship. She was placed under the orders of Commander W. A. Halstead, and sailed for America in the spring of 1776, as one of the squadron of Commodore Hotham, arriving at Sandy Hook in the month of August. She subsequently was used for a short time as a store-ship, then employed again as a hospital-ship, and finally fitted up as a prison-ship, in which capacity she remained till the termination of the war, when she was broken up and sunk off the Long Island shore, near the site of the present navy yard. She was succeeded in the navy by a cutter of the same name, which was launched in 1860.

For further particulars respecting her, the sufferings of the prisoners on board, etc., see "Adventures of Christopher Hawkins," etc., edited by Charles I. Bushnell. 8vo. pp. 316. N. Y., 1864. See also Appendix to the present volume.

(36) Capt. BENJAMIN ELLINGWOOD was the great-grandson of Ralph Ellingwood, one of the first settlers of Beverly, Mass., and was the son of Ebenezer Ellingwood. His mother's

maiden name was Elizabeth Corning. The subject of our sketch was born in Beverly, Aug. 16, 1753, and died in the West Indies in the summer of 1792. The following is his genealogy, taken from the Town Records:

RALPH ELLINGWOOD, married Aug. 21, 1691. Had one son, viz.:

EBENEZER ELLINGWOOD, born Aug. 29, 1697. Married Sarah Tuck,
March 23, 1719. Had one son, viz.:

EBENEZER ELLINGWOOD, born Oct. 30, 1719. Married Elizabeth Corning,
May 24, 1744. Had one son, viz.:

BENJAMIN ELLINGWOOD, born Aug. 16, 1753. Married Ann Clark,
Nov. 17, 1774. No children. He married Love Hilton,
Aug. 8, 1779. No descendants living.

(37) CAPE ANN, a promontory in Essex Co., Mass. It derives its name from Prince Charles, who gave it the name out of respect to his mother, Queen Ann, the consort of James 1st. Sandy Bay, now called Rockport, is on the north-easterly side of the Cape, about four miles from the South Harbor.

(38) JOHN BLATCHFORD, Senr., the father of our hero, was born in the southern part of England, about the year 1702. In 1716, when the river Thames was frozen over, and when beeves were roasted and eaten on the ice, he was present with hundreds of men and boys. "After the gentlemen had finished their feast," as he himself used to say, "the boys were all bountifully supplied." At this time he called himself 14 years old. Some years after this remarkably cold winter, Mr. Blatchford came to Portsmouth, N. H., where he resided

several years, and then moved to Salem, Mass. He came to Gloucester, now Rockport, on Cape Ann, about 1754. Here, Jan. 7, 1755, he married Rachel, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Clark, of that place. For many years preceeding his death, Mr. Blatchford was very infirm, and his wife being unable to take care of him, they went to live with their daughter Rachel. There Mrs. Blatchford died in the year 1800. Mr. Blatchford continued residing with his daughter until 1809, when he died at the age of about 107 years. The following were the names of his children :

1. MOLLY.....Married 1st. Mr. Craven. 2d. Joseph Tucker.
2. JOHN....." Anna, d. of Nehemiah and Betsey Grover.
3. WILLIAM.... Died young.
4. RACHEL....." Nathaniel Foster, of Woolwich, Me.
5. SAMUEL....." Lydia, d. of Henry Clark, of Rockport.
6. NATHANIEL.. " Abigail Cleveland, of Gloucester.
7. HENRY....." Hannah, d. of John and Anna Gamage, of Rockport.
8. JONATHAN... Died young.

(39) We have stated that the maiden name of Mr. Blatchford's wife was Anna Grover. This lady was born in 1766, and was the daughter of Nehemiah Grover, a farmer of Sandy Bay, now Rockport. Her mother, Betsey Grover, was the daughter of Nathaniel Gamage, by his wife Mary, daughter of Joshua Norwood.

Mr. Blatchford died about the year 1794, leaving his widow surviving him. In the year 1800 she married Edward Higgins, Jr., and he dying in 1805, she was again left a widow.

She supported herself and children by weaving, until the factories so affected the wheel and loom, that that trade became no longer remunerative. She then devoted a part of her time to nursing the sick, in which occupation she was held in great repute. She is represented as having been of an amiable disposition, of industrious habits, and possessed of many endearing qualities. She died on the fourth day of March, 1841, at the age of 75 years.

Her children by Mr. Blatchford were as follows :

NANCY....	born 1784.....	Died young.
RACHEL...	" 1786....	married Francis Hilton, of Gloucester.....
		She is still living.
WILLIAM..	" 1788....	" 1st. Betsey Foster. 2d. Mrs. Mary Tarr, of Rockport. He died, Jan. 20, 1864.
JOHN.....	" 1790....	" Margaret Oakes Soper, of Rockport.
		He is still living.

For the following additional particulars, we are indebted to the kindness of Miss Betsie F. Andrews, of Rockport, Mass.

RACHEL BLATCHFORD, eldest child of John Blatchford and Anna (Grover) Blatchford, that arrived at maturity, was born in Rockport in 1786. Married Francis Hilton, of Gloucester, who died at Rockport, 1812. Mrs. Hilton has since remained a widow, and is at this date (1865) living with her daughter, Sarah, in Cambridge, Mass. Her children are as follows :

1. FRANCIS....	born 1806..	married, 1st, Mary Pew. 2d, Sarah Tappan.
		Still living in Gloucester.

2. SARAH born 1803. . married, 1st, David Mellen. 2d, James Hilton.
Still living in Cambridge.
3. WILLIAM . . . " 1810. . unmarried. Died.
4. ISAAC TULL. " 1810. . married, 1st, Rhoda Poole. He died and his
widow married Chas. Marchant, who died.

WILLIAM BLATCHFORD, brother of the preceding, was born in Rockport, 1788; married (1814), 1st, Betsey Foster, daughter of Nathaniel and Rachel Foster, of Rockport, who died, Jan., 1831. 2d, (1833) Mary Tarr, widow of Robert Tarr, and daughter of George and Sally Gott, all of Rockport. William Blatchford was a resident of Rockport, and was a very enterprising seaman. In 1799, when only 11 years of age, he served on board the "Congress." When past 70 years old, he received a land warrant for that service. He died, Jan. 20, 1864. His children were—

By his first marriage.

1. CAROLINE PREBLE. . born June 20, 1815. Died young.
2. WILLIAM " July 17, 1817. . married Ellen Reid, of Pat-
erson, N. J.
3. MARY POLLARD . . . " Feb. 22, 1819. Charles Nute, of
Dover, N. H.
4. JOHN. " Aug. 13, 1821. Lydia White, of
Casco, Me.
5. A Daughter . . . " July 15, 1823. Died an infant.
6. NANCY G. " Sept. 5, 1825. John Pittee.
7. ELIZABETH. " Sept. 8, 1827. Daniel Merrill, of
Buxton, Me.
8. DUDLEY CHOATE . . . " Dec. 12, 1829. Mary Ann Babson,
of Rockport.
9. NATHANIEL FOSTER. " Nov. 29, 1831. Mary Findlay.

By his second marriage.

1. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN...born Jan. 1835...married Emily Snow. He served in the War for the Union in 2d Mass. Artillery, and was promoted 1st lieut. for gallant conduct.
2. LUCY SANBORN..... " Sept. 8, 1838.....Died young.
3. LOUISA FOSTER..... " Nov. 29, 1841...married Henry Martin Lowe, of Rockport, who served in the War for the Union.

Capt. JOHN BLATCHFORD, brother of the preceding, and the youngest of the children of John Blatchford, and Anna his wife, was born in Rockport, 1790; married, 1809, Margaret Oakes, daughter of Benjamin Soper. Mr. and Mrs. Blatchford are still living in Rockport, in the State of Massachusetts. Their children are as follows :

1. CHARLOTTE FOSTER....born Dec. 1, 1809...married, 1st, Lemuel Norwood, keeper of the "Light" on Eastern Point, Gloucester. 2d, Daniel Norwood, of Gloucester.
2. MARGARET OAKES.....born Dec. 16, 1811...married William Thurston, of Rockport.
3. JOHN..... " Oct. 15, 1812.....Died young.
4. SALLY FOSTER..... " Apl. 21, 1814...married John Hoble, of Rockport.
5. CAROLINE PREBLE..... " Apl. 28, 1817...married Benjamin Soper Marshall, Jr., of Rockport.
6. MARY CHOATE..... " Feb. 4, 1821...married Albert Giddings Hale.
7. SOPHIA ANDREWS..... " Oct. 5, 1823.....Died young.

8. NANCY TARR. born July 26, 1826. . married James Munroe
Montgomery, of Boothbay, Me.
9. JOHN..... " Oct. 15, 1827.....Died young.
10. ZELINDA GOSS..... " Aug. 26, 1828. . married Benjamin Reed
Montgomery, of Boothbay, Me.
11. LOUISA MARIA MELLEN. " Dec. 11, 1833. . married David Parsons
Boynton, Jr., of Rockport, who
served in Co. B, 50th Regt.
Mass. Vols., in War for the
Union, and died in Rockport,
Nov. 3, 1863.
12. BETSEY FOSTER..... " Mar. 11, 1836. . married John Edmunds,
of Rockport.



A P P E N D I X.

The DESTRUCTIVE OPERATION of FOUL AIR, TAINTED PROVISIONS, BAD WATER, and PERSONAL FILTHINESS, upon HUMAN CONSTITUTIONS; exemplified in the unparalleled Cruelty of the British to the American Captives at New-York during the Revolutionary War, on Board their Prison and Hospital Ships. By Captain ALEXANDER COFFIN, Jun., one of the surviving Sufferers: In a Communication to Dr. MITCHILL, dated September 4, 1807.



SHALL furnish you with an account of the treatment that I, with other of my fellow citizens received on board the *Jersey* and *John* prison ships; those monuments of British barbarity and infamy. I shall give you nothing but a plain simple statement of facts that cannot be controverted. And I begin my narrative from the time of my leaving the South-Carolina frigate.

In June, 1782, I left the above mentioned frigate in the Havanna, on board of which ship I had long served as a midshipman, and made several trading voyages. I sailed early in September from Baltimore for the Havanna, in a fleet of about forty sail, most of which were captured, and we among the rest, by the British frigate *Ceres*, Captain Hawkins, a man in

every sense of the word a perfect brute. Although our commander, Captain Hughes, was a very gentlemanly man, he was treated in the most shameful and abusive manner by said Hawkins, and ordered below to mess with the petty officers. Our officers were put in the cable-tier with the crew, and a guard placed at the hatchway to prevent more than two going on deck at a time, and that only for the necessary calls of nature. The provisions served out to us were of the very worst kind, and very short allowance even of that. They frequently gave us pea-soup, that is, pea-water, for the pease and the soup, all but about a gallon or two, were taken out for the ship's company, and the coppers filled up with water, and just warmed and stirred together, and brought down to us in a strap-tub. And, Sir, I might have defied any person on earth, possessing the most acute olfactory powers, and the most refined taste, to decide, either by one or the other, or both of those senses, whether it was pease and water, slush and water, or swill. After living and being treated in this way, subject to every insult and abuse for ten or twelve days, we fell in with the *Champion* British twenty-gun ship, which was bound to New York to refit, and were all sent on board of her. The Captain was a true seaman and a gentleman; and our treatment was so different from what we had experienced on board the *Ceres*, that it was like being removed from purgatory to paradise. His name, I think, was Edwards. We arrived about the beginning of October at New-York, and were immediately sent on board the prison-ship in a small schooner

called, ironically enough, the *Relief*, commanded by one Gardner, an Irishman. This schooner *Relief* plied between the prison-ship and New-York, and carried the water and provisions from the city to the ship. In fact, the said schooner might emphatically be termed the *Relief*, for the execrable water and provisions she carried *relieved* many of my brave but unfortunate countrymen *by death*, from the misery and savage treatment they daily endured. Before I go on to relate the treatment we experienced on board the *Jersey*, I will make one remark, and that is, that if you were to rake the infernal regions, I doubt whether you could find such another set of dæmons as the officers and men who had charge of the old *Jersey* prison-ship. And, Sir, I shall not be surprised if you, possessing those finer feelings which I believe are interwoven in the composition of man, and which are not totally torn from the *piece*, till, by a long and obstinate perseverance in the meanest, the basest, and cruelest of all human arts, a man becomes lost to every sense of honour, of justice, of humanity, and common honesty;—I shall not be surprised, I say, if you, possessing those finer feelings, should doubt whether men could be so lost to their sacred obligations to their God, and the moral ties which ought to bind them to their duty toward their fellow men, as those men were, who had the charge, and also those who had any agency in the affairs of the *Jersey* prison-ship. *On my arrival on board the old Jersey, I found there about eleven hundred prisoners; many of them had been there from three to six months, but few*

lived over that time if they did not get away by some means or other. They were generally in the most deplorable situation, mere walking skeletons, without money, and scarcely clothes to cover their nakedness, and overrun with lice from head to foot. The provisions, Sir, that were served out to us was not more than four or five ounces of meat, and about as much bread, all condemned provisions from their ships of war, which no doubt were supplied with new in their stead, and the new in all probability charged by the commissaries to the Jersey. They, however, know best about that; and however secure they may now feel, they will have to render an account of that business to a Judge who cannot be deceived. This fact, however, I can safely aver, that both the times that I was confined on board the prison-ship, there never were provisions served out to the prisoners that would have been eatable by men that were not literally in a starving situation. The water that we were forced to use was carried from this city; and I positively assert, that I never, after having followed the sea thirty years, had on board of any ship, (and I have been three years on some of my voyages) water so bad as that we were obliged to use on board the old Jersey; when there was, as it were to tantalize us, as fine water, not more than three cables length from us, at the mill in the Wallabout, as was perhaps ever drank.

There were hogs kept in pens on the gun-deck by the officers of the prison-ship for their own use; and I have seen the prisoners watch an opportunity, and with a tin pot steal the bran from the hogs' trough, and go into the galley, and when

they could get an opportunity, boil it on the fire, and eat it as you, Sir, would eat of good soup when hungry. This I have seen more than once, and there are those now living beside me who can bear testimony to the same fact. There are many other facts equally abominable that I could mention, but the very thought of those things brings to my recollection scenes the most distressing. When I reflect how many hundreds of my brave and intrepid brother-seamen and countrymen I have seen in all the bloom of health, brought on board of that ship, and in a few days numbered with the dead, in consequence of the savage treatment they there received; I can but adore my Creator that he suffered me to escape; but I did not escape, Sir, without being brought to the very verge of the grave. This was the second time I was on board, which I shall mention more particularly hereafter. Those of us who had money fared much better than those who had none. I had made out to save, when taken, about twenty dollars, and with that I could buy from the bumboats that were permitted to come along side, bread, fruit, &c., but, Sir, those bumboatmen were of the same kidney with the officers of the *Jersey*; we got nothing from them without paying through the nose for it, and I soon found the bottom of my purse; after which I fared no better than the rest. I was, however, fortunate in another respect; for after having been there about six weeks, two of my countrymen, (I am a Nantucket man) happened to come to New-York to endeavour to recover a whaling sloop that had been captured, with a whaling licence from Admiral Digby;

and they found means to procure my release, passing me for a Quaker, to which I confess I had no pretensions further than my mother being a member of that respectable society. Thus, Sir, I returned to my friends fit for the newest fashion, after an absence of three years. For my whole wardrobe I carried on my back, which consisted of a jacket, shirt, and trousers, a pair of old shoes, and a handkerchief served me for a hat, and had more than two months, for I lost my hat the day we were taken, from the main-top-gallant-yard, furling the top-gallant-sail. My clothes, I forgot to mention, were completely laced with locomotive tinsel, and moved, as if by instinct, in all directions; but as my mother was not fond of such company, she furnished me with a suit of my father's, who was absent at sea, and condemned my laced suit for the benefit of all concerned.

Being then in the prime of youth, about eighteen years of age, and naturally of a roving disposition, I could not bear the idea of being idle at home. I therefore proceeded to Providence, Rhode Island, and shipping on board the brig Betsey and Polly, Captain Robert Folger, bound for Virginia and Amsterdam, we sailed from Newport early in February, 1783; and were taken five days after off the capes of Virginia, by the Fair American privateer, of this port, mounting sixteen sixes, and having eighty-five men, commanded by one Burton, a refugee, most of whose officers were of the same stamp. We were immediately handcuffed two and two, and ordered into the hold in the cable-tier. Having been plundered of our

beds and bedding, the softest bed we had was the soft side of a water cask and the coils of a cable. The Fair American having been handsomely dressed by an United States vessel of one half of her force, was obliged to put into New-York, then in possession of the British enemy, to refit; and we arrived within the Hook about the beginning of March, and were put on board a pilot boat and brought up to this city. The boat hauled along side of the Crane-wharf, where we had our irons knocked off, *the marks of which I carry to this day*; and were put on board the same schooner *Relief* mentioned in a former part of this narrative, and sent up once more to the prison-ship. It was just three months from my leaving the *old Jersey*, to my being again a prisoner on board of her; and on my return I found, but very few of those whom I had left three months before; some had made their escape; some had been exchanged; *but the greater part had taken up their abode under the surface of that hill which you can see from your windows, where their bones are mouldering to dust, and mingling with mother earth; a lesson to Americans, written in* CAPITALS, *ON BRITISH CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE.* *I found, on my return on board the Jersey, more prisoners than when I left her; and she being so crowded, they were obliged to send about two hundred of us on board the John, a transport ship of about three hundred tons. There we were treated worse, if possible, than on board the Jersey; and our accommodations were infinitely worse, for the Jersey being an old condemned sixty-four gun ship, had two tier of ports fore and aft, air ports and large*

hatchways, which gave a pretty free circulation of air through the ship ; whereas the John being a merchant ship, and with small hatchways, and no ports, and the hatches laid down every night, and no man allowed during the night to go on deck, all exonerations were of course made below ; the effluvia arising from these, together with the already contaminated air occasioned by the breath of so many people so pent up together, was enough to destroy men of the most healthy and robust constitutions. All the time I was on board this ship not a prisoner eat his allowance, bad as it was, cooked, more than three or four times ; but eat it raw as it came out of the barrel. These, Sir, are stubborn facts that cannot be controverted.

In the middle of this ship, between decks, was raised a platform of boards about two and a half feet high, for those prisoners to sleep on who had no hammocks. On this they used frequently to sit and play at cards to pass the time. One night in particular, several of us sat to see them play till about ten o'clock, and then retired to our hammocks, and left them playing ; about one A. M. we were called and told that one *Bird* was dying ; we turned out and went to where he lay, and found him just expiring. Thus, at ten P. M. this young man was apparently as well as any of us, and at one A. M. had paid the debt to nature. Many others went off in the same way. It will perhaps be said that men may die suddenly any where. True ; but do they die suddenly any where from the same cause ? After all these things, it is, I think, impossible for the mind to form any other conclusion than that there was

a premeditated design to destroy as many Americans as they could on board of their prison-ships; the treatment of the prisoners warrants the conclusion; but it is mean, base and cowardly, to endeavour to conquer an enemy by such infamous means, and truly characteristic of base and cowardly wretches. The truly brave will always treat their prisoners well. There were two or three hospital ships near the prison ships; and so soon as any of the prisoners complained of being sick, they were sent on board of one of them; and I verily believe that not one out of a hundred ever returned or recovered. I am sure I never knew but one to recover. Almost (and in fact I believe I may safely say) *every morning a large boat from each of the hospital ships went loaded with dead bodies, which were all tumbled together into a hole dug for the purpose, on the hill where the national navy-yard now is.* A singular affair happened on board of one of those hospital-ships, and no less true than singular. All the prisoners that died after the boat with the load had gone ashore, were sewed up in hammocks, and left on deck till the next morning. As usual, a great number had thus been disposed of. In the morning, while employed in loading the boat, one of the seamen perceived motion in one of the hammocks, just as they were about launching it down the board placed for that purpose from the gunwale of the ship into the boat, and exclaimed, D——n my eyes, that fellow is not dead; and, if I have been rightly informed, and I believe I have, there was quite a dispute between this man and the others about it. They swore he was dead enough, and should

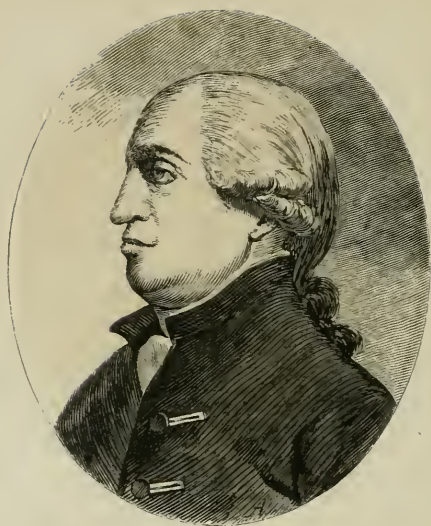
go into the boat; he swore he should not be launched, as they termed it, and took his knife and ripped open the hammock, and behold! the man was really alive. There had been a heavy rain during the night, and as the vital functions had not totally ceased, but were merely suspended in consequence of the main spring being out of order, this seasonable moistening must have given tone and elasticity to the great spring, which must have communicated to the lesser ones, and put the whole machinery again in motion. You know better about these things than I do, and can better judge of the cause of the re-animation of this man from the circumstances mentioned. He was a native of Rhode-Island; his name was Gavot. He went to Rhode-Island in the same flag of truce with me about a month afterwards. I felt extremely ill, but made out to keep about till I got home (my parents then lived on the island of Nantucket); was then taken down, and lay in my bed six weeks in the most deplorable situation; my body was swelled to a great degree, and my legs were as big round as my body now is, and affected with the most excruciating pains. What my disorder was I will not pretend to say; but Dr. Tupper, quite an eminent physician, and a noted tory, who attended me, declared to my mother that he knew of nothing that would operate in the manner that my disorder did but poison. For the truth of this I refer to my father and brothers, and to Mr. Henry Coffin, father to Captain Peter Coffin, of the Manchester Packet of this port.

Thus, Sir, in some haste, without much attention to order

or diction, I have given you part of the history of my life and sufferings; but I endeavoured to bear them as became an American. And I must mention, before I close, to the everlasting honour of those unfortunate Americans who were on board the Jersey prison-ship, that notwithstanding the savage treatment they received, and death staring them in the face, every attempt (which was very frequent) that the British made to persuade them to enter on board their ships of war or in their army, was treated with the utmost contempt; and I never knew, while I was on board, but one instance of defection, and that person was hooted at and abused by the prisoners till the boat was out of hearing. The patriotism in preferring such treatment, and even death in its most frightful shapes, to the serving the British, and fighting against their own country, has seldom been equalled, certainly never excelled. And if there be no monument raised with hands to commemorate the virtue of those men, it is stamped in capitals on the heart of every American acquainted with their merit and sufferings, and will there remain so long as the blood flows from its fountain.

Medical Repository, Vol. xi., or Vol. v. of 2d Hexade, pp. 260-267.





GENERAL BURGOYNE.

THE
NARRATIVE
OF
EBENEZER FLETCHER,

A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION,

Written by Himself.

WITH
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY
CHARLES I. BUSHNELL.



NEW YORK :
PRIVATELY PRINTED.
—1866.—

ENTERED, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1866, by

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New York.

TO

DEXTER FLETCHER,

OF MOUNT VERNON, N. H.,

THE ELDEST SURVIVING SON OF

EBENEZER FLETCHER,

THIS TRACT

IS RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED.



INTRODUCTION.



BENEZER FLETCHER, the author of the following narrative, was the son of John Fletcher, and was born in New Ipswich, in the State of New Hampshire, on the fifth day of February, 1761. His mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Foster. She was the daughter of Abijah Foster, a farmer of New Ipswich, and one of the first settlers of the place.

After receiving the rudiments of a plain, common school education, our author, when about fourteen years of age, was placed under the care of Samuel Cummings, of New Ipswich, who built and then owned the mills at Mill Village. He continued with him until the spring of the year 1777, when he enlisted as a fifer in Capt. Carr's company, in the battalion commanded by Col. Nathan Hale, of New Hampshire troops, to serve for the period of

three years. The battalion marched soon after to Ticonderoga, and composed for a while a part of the garrison of that fort ; but on the approach of General Burgoyne, the army evacuated the post, and while on their retreat, were overtaken by the enemy at Hubbardton, where a sharp action took place, in which Mr. Fletcher was severely wounded and taken prisoner. He continued with the British for a few weeks, when, having partially recovered from his wounds, he succeeded in effecting his escape, and after severe trials in the wilderness and among the mountains, without food or company, he at length reached the house of a friend, where he remained a few days, and then returned to his home. On recovering his health, he rejoined his company, and served the remaining part of his term of enlistment, being, in the fall of 1779, in the memorable Indian expedition under the command of General Sullivan, and receiving his discharge from the army on the twentieth day of March of the following year.

On his return from the war, he again entered the service of Mr. Cummings, his former employer, and after remaining with him a while, he at length purchased from him the mills at Mill Village, and carried them on successfully for a number of years. He subsequently engaged in the business of trunk making, which occupation he pursued until within a short period of his decease.

Mr. Fletcher was twice married. His first wife was Miss Polly Cummings, an estimable lady, and the daughter of Mr. Samuel Cummings, before named. She was born in New Ipswich, on the sixteenth of December, 1758, was married in 1786, and died on the twenty-sixth day of February, in the year 1812. By her, Mr. Fletcher had six sons and six daughters. His second wife was Mrs. Mary Foster, widow of Nathaniel Foster, of Ashby, Mass., and daughter of Asa Rendall, whose occupation was that of a farmer. This lady was born in Dunstable, Mass., on the twenty-ninth of December, 1766, became the wife of Mr. Fletcher in the month of June, 1812, and died in Winchendon, Mass., on the twenty-fifth day of January, 1851. By this union, there was no issue.

Mr. Fletcher was short in stature, being but about five feet three inches tall, and proportionably slim, but remarkably active in his movements. He had blue eyes and fair complexion, and his features were small and delicate. He was amiable in his disposition, modest in his deportment, and, though a man of few words, he was cheerful, kind hearted, and a good friend to the poor. Although always sustaining a moral, Christian character, yet he does not seem to have made a public profession of religion until the year 1813. He was then baptised by immersion, and joined the close communion Baptists of his native place.

He was fond of singing, and, at church, he usually sat with the choir. He was an exemplary professor of religion, and was noted for his industry, and his strict integrity.

After a life of activity and usefulness, he died in New Ipswich, on the eighth day of May, 1831, in the 71st year of his age, in the hope of a blessed immortality. The Rev. Asaph Merriam, then pastor of the Baptist meeting-house, preached his funeral sermon, taking his text from the 37th chap. Psalms, 37th verse—"Mark the perfect *man*, and behold the upright: for the end of *that* man is peace." The remains of the deceased, followed by a large number of relatives and friends, were then conveyed to the burial ground in Mill Village, being the southerly part of the town of New Ipswich, where they were committed to their kindred dust. A plain, but neat tombstone, bearing his name, age and time of decease, marks the spot of his repose.

In conclusion, we would state that the narrative, written by himself, of his adventures during the Revolutionary war, was originally published in the year 1813. In 1827 a fourth edition had appeared. This was reproduced on the 30th day of January, 1863, in the columns of the "Sentinel," a newspaper published in Fitchburg, Massachusetts. The present issue has been taken from one of the original imprints of 1827, that being the author's last revised and most improved edition.



GENERAL FRASER.

NARRATIVE
OF THE
CAPTIVITY & SUFFERINGS
OF
EBENEZER FLETCHER,
OF NEW-IPSWICH,

Who was severely wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Hubbardston, Vt., in the year 1777, by the British and Indians, at the age of 16 years, after recovering in part, made his escape from the enemy, and travelling through a dreary wilderness, followed by wolves, and beset by Tories on his way, who threatened to take him back to the enemy, but made his escape from them all, and arrived safe home.

—o—
Written by himself, and published at the request of his friends.

—o—
FOURTH EDITION.
REVISED AND ENLARGED.

—o—
NEW-IPSWICH, N. H.
PRINTED BY S. WILDER,
—1827.—



NARRATIVE.



EBENEZER FLETCHER, enlisted into the Continental Army, in Capt. Carr's⁽¹⁾ Company,⁽²⁾ in Col. Nathan Hale's⁽³⁾ Regiment,⁽⁴⁾ as a fifer, and joined the Army at Ticonderoga,⁽⁵⁾ under the command of Gen. St. Clair,⁽⁶⁾ in the spring of 1777, at which place I was stationed till the retreat of the Army on the 6th of July following.⁽⁷⁾

Early on the morning of the same day, orders came to strike our tents and swing our packs. It was generally conjectured that we were going to battle; but orders came immediately to march.

We marched some distance before light. By sunrise the enemy had landed from their boats, and pursued us so closely as to fire on our rear. A large body of the enemy followed us all day, but kept so far behind as not to be wholly discovered. Their aim was to attack us suddenly next morning, as they did.

Having just recovered from the measles, and not being able to march with the main body, I fell in the rear. The morning after our retreat, orders came very early for the troops to refresh and be ready for marching. Some were eating, some were cooking, and all in a very unfit posture for battle. Just as the sun rose, there was a cry, "*the enemy are upon us.*" Looking round I saw the enemy in line of battle. Orders came to lay down our packs and be ready for action. The fire instantly began.^(s) We were but few in number compared to the enemy. At the commencement of the battle, many of our party retreated back into the woods. Capt. Carr came up and says, "My lads advance, we shall beat them yet." A few of us followed him in view of the enemy. Every man was trying to secure himself behind girdled trees, which were

standing on the place of action. I made shelter for myself and discharged my piece. Having loaded again and taken aim, my piece missed fire. I brought the same a second time to my face; but before I had time to discharge it, I received a musket ball in the small of my back, and fell with my gun cocked. My uncle, Daniel Foster,* standing but little distance from me, I made out to crawl to him and spoke to him. He and another man lifted me and carried me back some distance and laid me down behind a large tree, where was another man crying out most bitterly with a grievous wound. By this time I had bled so freely, I was very weak and faint. I observed the enemy were like to gain the ground. Our men began to retreat and the enemy to advance. Having no friend to afford me any relief, every one taking care of himself, all things looked very shocking to me; to remain where I was and fall into the hands of the enemy, especially in the condition I was in, expecting to receive no mercy, it came into my mind to conceal myself from them if possible. I made use of

* All we know of this person is that he came from Concord, in the county of Merrimac and State of New Hampshire.—*Ed.*

my hands and knees, as well as I could, and crawled about two rods among some small brush, and got under a log. Here I lay concealed from the enemy, who came instantly to the place I lay wounded at. What became of my distressed partner I know not. The enemy pursued our men in great haste. Some of them came over the log where I lay. Some came so near I could almost touch them. I was not discovered by the enemy till the battle was over. When they were picking up the dead and wounded among the brush and logs, I heard them coming towards me, and began to be much terrified, lest I should be found. I flattered myself that our men would come back after the battle was over and take me off; but to my great surprise, two of the enemy came so nigh, I heard one of them say, "Here is one of the rebels." I lay flat on my face across my hands, rolled in my blood. I dared not stir, being afraid they meant me, by saying, "here is one of the rebels." They soon came to me, and pulled off my shoes, supposing me to be dead. I looked up and spoke, telling them I was their prisoner, and begged to be used well. "Damn you," says one, "you

deserve to be used well, don't you? What's such a young rebel as yon fighting for?" One of these men was an officer, who appeared to be a pretty sort of a man. He spoke to the soldier, who had taken my shoes, and says, "Give back the shoes and help the man into camp." My shoes were given back by the soldier according to order. The soldier then raised me upon my feet, and conducted me to the British camp. Here I found a number of my brother soldiers in the same situation as myself. I was laid on the ground and remained in this posture till the afternoon, before my wound was dressed. Two Doctors came to my assistance. They raised me up, and examined my back. One of them said, "My lad, you stood a narrow chance; had the ball gone in or out half its bigness, you must have been killed instantly." I asked him if he thought there was any prospect of my getting well again. He answered, "There is some prospect." I concluded by his reply, he considered my case hazardous. The Doctors appeared to be very kind and faithful. They pulled several pieces of my clothes from my wound, which were forced in by the ball I received.

Some of the enemy were very kind ; while others were very spiteful and malicious. One of them came and took my silver shoe-buckles and left me an old pair of brass ones, and said *exchange was no robbery* ; but I thought it robbery at a high rate. Another came and took off my neck handkerchief. An old negro came and took my fife, which I considered as the greatest insult I had received while with the enemy. The Indians often came and abused me with their language ; calling us Yankees and rebels ; but they were not allowed to injure us. I was stripped of everything valuable about me.

The enemy soon marched back to Ticonderoga, and left only a few to take care of the wounded. I was treated as well as I could expect. Doctor Haze was the head Doctor, and he took true care that the prisoners were well treated. Doctor Blocksom, an under surgeon, appeared to be very kind indeed : he was the one who had the care of me : he never gave me any insulting or abusive language ; he sometimes would say, " Well, my lad, think you'll be willing to list in the King's service, if you should get well ? " My answer was always *no*. The

officers would flatter me to list in their service; telling me they were very sure to conquer the country, since they had got our strongest post. I told them I should not list.

But among all the troubles I met with, I received particular favors from two of the British. This conduct appeared to me very remarkable; why or wherefore it should be I knew not; but He who hath the hearts of all men in his hands, gave me favor in their sight. They would often visit me, and asked me if I wanted anything to eat or drink. If I did, I had it. The first time one of these friends came to me, was soon after I was brought to the camp.

As I lay on the ground, he asked me if I did not want a bed to lie on: I told him I did: he went and got a large hemlock bark, and finding many old coats and overalls, taken from the dead and wounded, he put them in the bark, made me a bed, and laid me into it. He built a shelter over me with barks, to keep the rain from me, which was a great kindness, as it rained exceeding hard the next night. He went to a spring, and brought me water as often as I wanted, which was very often,

being very dry : my loss of blood occasioning much thirst. He asked me, also, if I wanted to eat. I answered yes : for having eat but little that day, I was very faint and hungry. He told me he did not know as it was in his power to procure anything for me, but would go and try. After an absence of considerable time (certainly the time seemed long) he returned with a piece of broiled pork and broiled liver, telling me this was all the food he could get : I thanked him, and told him it was very good.

The next day he came and told me he had orders to march, and must therefore leave me : was very sorry he could stay no longer with me, but hoped somebody would take care of me ; taking me by the hand he wished me well and left me.

The loss of so good a friend grieved me exceedingly ; but I soon heard that my other friend was ordered to stay behind to help take care of the wounded. My spirits, which before were very much depressed, when I heard of this, were much exhilarated ; and once more I felt tolerably happy. The difference in mankind never struck me more sensibly than while a prisoner. Some would do

everything in their power to make me comfortable and cheerful; while others abused me with the vilest of language; telling me that the prisoners would all be hanged; that they would drive all the damned rebels into the sea, and that their next winter quarters would be in Boston. They certainly wintered in Boston; but to their great disappointment and chagrin, as *prisoners of war*.

But to return. My wound being now a little better, I began to think of escaping from the enemy. Two of my fellow-prisoners agreed to accompany me; one of them being well acquainted with the way to Otter Creek.⁽⁹⁾ This plan, however, failed; for before we had an opportunity for making our escape, Doctor Haze called upon my companions to be ready to march for Ticonderoga: telling them that the next morning they must leave this place. Thus I found, that as soon as the prisoners were able to ride, they were ordered to Ticonderoga. Being thus disappointed I begged of the Doctor to let me go with them. Says he, "You are very dangerously wounded, and it is improper for you to ride so far yet; but as soon as you are able you shall go." Being thus defeated I

again resolved to run away, even if I went alone, and it was not long before I had an opportunity. As all the prisoners were sent off except such as were badly wounded, they thought it unnecessary to guard us very closely. I soon was able to go to the spring, which was at a little distance from the camp. Thither I often went for water for myself and the Hessians,⁽¹⁰⁾ who, by the way, appeared to be pleased with me. I often waited upon them, brought them water, made their beds, &c., and found my fare the better for it. I often walked out into the woods where the battle was fought; went to the tree where I was shot down, observed the trees which were very much marked with the balls. Looking around one day, I found some leaves of a Bible; these I carried into the camp, and diverted myself by reading them; for I felt much more contented when I had something to read. My friend, whom I have before mentioned, one day brought me a very good book, which he told me to keep as a present from him. This I heartily thanked him for, and whenever I was tired by walking would lay down and read.

On the 22d of July, a number of men came down from Ticonderoga, with horses and litters sufficient to carry off the remainder of the wounded. Doctor Haze came to us and told us, that to-morrow we should all be carried where we should have better care taken of us. Says he, "I will send the orderly sergeant, who will see that your bloody clothes are well washed." This he thought would be very agreeable news to us. I pretended to be very much pleased, though I was determined never to go. I told the person who lay next to me that I intended to run away; desired him to make them believe I had taken the north road, if they inclined to pursue me, for I should take the south. Says he, "I will do all in my power to assist you, and wish it was possible for me to go with you."

I made it my business that day to procure provisions sufficient for my journey. I had spared a little bread from my daily allowance, and although dry and mouldy, yet it was the best to be had. I had a large jack-knife left of which the enemy had not robbed me; I sold this for a pint of wine, thinking it would do me more good on my march than the knife, as the event proved. The wine I put in

a bottle, and carefully stowed it in my pocket. I was hard put to it to get my shirt washed and dried before evening. However, agreeing with some to make their beds if they would dry my shirt, it was ready to put on by dark. I then went to my tent, took off my coat and jacket, and put on my clean shirt over my dirty one, and having filled my pockets with the little provision I had saved, I began to march homeward shoeless; reflecting what I should do for so material a part of my clothing. It came into my mind that one Jonathan Lambart had died of his wounds a day or two before and left a good pair of shoes. Supposing my right to them equal to any other person, I took them and put them on.

It being dark, I went out undiscovered, and steered into the woods. After going a little way, I turned into the road and made a halt. Now was the trying scene! The night being very dark, everything before me appeared gloomy and discouraging; my wound was far from being healed; my strength much reduced by the loss of blood, pain and poor living; thus situated, to travel alone, I knew not where, having no knowledge of the way,

I thought would be highly presumptuous. How far I should have to travel before I could reach any inhabitants, I could not tell: Indians, I supposed, were lurking about, and probably I might be beset by them and murdered or carried back: and if I avoided them, perhaps I might perish in the wilderness.

Reflecting upon these things, my resolution began to flag, and I thought it most prudent to return and take my fate. I turned about and went back a few rods, when the following words struck me as if whispered in my ear: *Put not your hands to the plough and look back.* I immediately turned about again, fully resolved to pursue my journey through the woods; but before morning, had I been possessed of millions of gold, I would freely have given the whole to have been once more with the enemy. The road which I had to travel, was newly opened, leading from Hubbardston⁽¹¹⁾ to Otter-Creek. The night being dark and the road very crooked, I found it very difficult to keep it; often running against trees and rocks, before I knew I was out of it; and then it was with much trouble that I found it again, which sometimes I

was obliged to do upon my hands and knees, and often up to my knees in mire.

About 12 o'clock I heard something coming towards me; what it could be I knew not. I halted and looked back; it was so dark I was at a loss to determine what it was: but thought it looked like a dog. That a dog should be so far from inhabitants, I thought very strange. I at once concluded that he belonged to the Indians, and that they were not far off. I however ventured to speak to him, and he immediately came to me; I gave him a piece of mouldy bread, which he eat and soon appeared fond of me. At first I was afraid he would betray me to the Indians; but soon found him of service; for I had not gone far before I heard the noise of some wild beast. I had just set down to rest me, with my back against a tree, my wound being very painful. As the beast approached, my dog appeared very much frightened; laid close down by me and trembled, as if he expected to be torn in pieces. I now began to be much terrified; I however set very still, knowing it would do no good to run. He came within two rods of me, and stopped. I was unable to deter-

mine what it was, but supposed it was a wolf. I soon found I was not mistaken. After looking at me some time, he turned about and went off; but before long returned with a large reinforcement. In his absence I exerted myself to the utmost to get forward, fearing he would be after me again. After travelling about half an hour, I was alarmed with the most horrible howling, which I supposed to be near the tree which I rested by. Judge what my feelings were, when I found these beasts of prey were pursuing me, and expected every minute to be devoured by them. But in the midst of this trouble, to my infinite joy, I discovered fires but a little way before me, which, from several circumstances, I was sure were not built by Indians; I therefore at once concluded they were fires of some scouting party of Americans, and I made great haste to get to them, lest I should be overtaken by the wolves, which were now but a little behind. I approached so near the fires as to hear men talk, when I immediately discovered them to be enemies. Thus disappointed I knew not what course to take; if I continued in the woods, I should be devoured by wild beasts; for having eat of the bodies which

were left on the field of battle, they continued lurking for more. If I gave myself up to the enemy, I should certainly be carried back to Ticnderoga, and to Canada, and probably fare no better for attempting to run away. Which way to escape I knew not; I turned a little out of the path and lay down on the ground to hear what was said by the enemy, expecting every moment they would discover me: the darkness of the night, however, prevented. These howling beasts approached as near the fires as they dared, when they halted and continued their horrid yell for some time, being afraid to come so nigh as I was. After the howling had ceased, I began to think of getting round the enemy's camp; being pretty certain that, as yet, I was not discovered. I arose from the ground and took a course, which I thought would carry me round the enemy's camp. After travelling a little way, I came to the foot of a high mountain; to go round it I thought would carry me too much out of my course; I resolved therefore to ascend it; with much difficulty I arrived at the top, then took a tack to the right; travelling that course some time I found I was bewildered and lost, and which way to

go to find the road again I knew not, having neither moon nor stars to direct me ; so I wandered about in this wilderness till almost day, when I became so fatigued and worried, that I was obliged to lay down again. Judge what a person's feelings must be in such a situation.

I now repented of my ever leaving the enemy. Here I was lost in the woods, with but very little provision, my wounds extremely painful, and little or no prospect of ever seeing human beings again. Thus I lay and reflected, my dog walking round me like a faithful sentinel, till I fell asleep ; but was soon alarmed with the noise of cannon, which I concluded by the direction must be at Ticonderoga. Never was sound more grateful to my ears than this cannon. I thought I might possibly live to reach the place, and though an enemy's camp, I would have given anything to be with them again.

Soon after the morning gun was fired, I heard the drums beat in the camp which I had visited in the night : this noise was still more grateful, for I was sure they were not at a great distance. With much difficulty I got upon my legs again, with

a determination to go to their camp. I found, however, that I could scarcely stand; for having laid down when I was very sweaty, I had taken cold, and was so stiff and sore, that I could hardly move. I now had recourse to my little bottle of wine, which relieved me very much, and then began to march towards the drums, which still continued beating.

After travelling a little way, I heard a cock crow, which appeared near the drums. I thought it of little consequence which object to pursue, both being nearly in the same direction. But the noise of the drums soon ceased, and I steered for the other object, which soon brought me into open land and in sight of a house. I got to the door just as the man arose from his bed. After the usual compliments, I asked him how far it was to the British encampments? He answered about fifty rods. "Do you want to go to them?" says he. I never was more at a stand what reply to make. As none of the enemy appeared about the house, I thought if I could persuade this man to befriend me, I possibly might avoid them; but if he should prove to be a tory, and know from whence I came, he

would certainly betray me. I stood perhaps a minute without saying a word. He seeing my confusion, spoke again to me: "Come," said he, "come into the house." I went in and sat down. I will tell you, said I, what I want, if you will promise not to hurt me. He replied, "I will not injure you, if you do not injure us." This answer did not satisfy me, for as yet I could not tell whether he would be a friend or foe. I sat and viewed him for some minutes, and at last resolved to tell him from whence I came and where I wished to go, let the event be what it would. I was a soldier, said I, in the Continental army, was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner, had made my escape from the enemy, and after much fatigue and peril, had got through the woods, being directed to this house by the crowing of a cock. He smiled and said, "You have been rightly directed, for had you gone to either of my neighbors, you undoubtedly would have been carried to the enemy again; you have now found a friend, who will if possible protect you. It is true they have forced me to take the oath of allegiance to the king; but I sincerely hope the Americans will finally prevail, for I believe

their cause to be just and equitable ; should they know of my harboring rebels, as they call us, I certainly should suffer for it. Anything I can do for you without exposing my own life, I will do." I thanked him for his kindness, and desired him not to expose himself on my account.

After giving me something to eat and drink, he concealed me in a chamber, where he said I might stay till the dew was off and then go out into some secret place in the bushes, there to continue till night : this he said was necessary, as the enemy were often plundering about his house, and if I continued in it, I should probably be discovered, which would ruin him. A little boy was set as a sentinel at the door, who was to give notice if the enemy came near. I had not been in the house half an hour, before a number of them came in, but with no other design than to buy some rum and milk, and to borrow a pot for cooking.

As soon as they were gone, the woman came into the chamber to dress my wound. She washed it with rum, applied dressings, and bound it up as well as she could. She showed every mark of kindness to me, but her husband, whose name was

Moulton, in a day or two after I got to his house, was pressed by the enemy to bring stores from Skeensborough*⁽¹²⁾ with his team, and I never saw the good old man any more. His wife was in much trouble, lest the enemy should find me in the house and be so enraged as to kill all the family. She permitted her little boy to guide me to the bushes, where I might secrete myself: she gave me a blanket to lie on. The boy went with me to my lurking place, that I might be easily found, so as to receive refreshment. When night came on, I was called by the boy to the house again, and took my old stand in the chamber; the woman feared I should receive injury by lodging out of doors. She informed me that a man would lodge there that night, who was brother-in-law to her husband; and who had actually taken up arms against his country. I told her I apprehended danger from tarrying in the house; she said there would not be any; I then lay snug in my straw.

In a short time the tory came for some drink; the indiscreet woman told him she had an American

* In Washington County, in the State of New York. It is now known as White Hall.—*Ed.*

in the chamber, who had been taken prisoner by the British and had escaped. He asked her what kind of a man I was. She told him I was a young fellow and wanted much to get home, and begged that I might not be taken back to the enemy or betrayed. His answer was very rough, and I began to think I was gone for it. I expected to be forced back; but the woman interceding so hard for me, softened the ferocity of my tory enemy. Knowing I was discovered, I crawled from my hiding place, and began a conversation with the man. He asked me if I belonged to the rebel service? I told him I belonged to the Continental service. "What is that," says he, "but the rebel service?" He addressed me in very insolent language, and said he was very sorry to have me leave the king's troops in the manner I had done, and he would have me to know I was in his hands. I was patient and mild in my situation, telling him I was at his disposal. My good mistress often put in a word on my behalf.

After some time spent in this way, the man asked me if he should chance to be taken, and in my power as I was in his, whether I should let him

escape? I told him I should. "Then," says he, "if you will promise this, I will not detain you; also, that if you are retaken before you reach home, you will not inform, that you have seen me, or have been at my brother's." I gave him my promise. His advice to me was immediately to set out, for if I should stay long I might be picked up by some person. "And," says he, "I advise you to travel in the night, and hide in the day, for many volunteers are reconnoitering up and down the country." I concluded to travel; but my feeling landlady thought it best to stay a few days longer. My friend tory said it was best for me to travel as soon as possible. "If you are determined to go to-night," said the woman, "I will dress your wound and give you food for your journey." I told her I would go as soon as possible. She then dressed my wound for the last time, and filled my pockets with good provision. After thanking her for her kindness, it being all the compensation I could make, and I believe all that she desired, I left her.

But before I proceed on my journey, I must tell you, that my dog, who had accompanied me through many dangers, I was obliged to drive from

me ; when in the chamber, he would commonly lay at the foot of the stairs. Mrs. Moulton often told me, she was afraid he would betray me, for as the enemy were often in, should they see the dog, might suspect that somebody was in the chamber. I told her, with much regret, to drive him away ; she with her little boy tried all in their power to get rid of him, but in vain ; the dog would stay about the house ; at length she called me to drive him away ; I came down, and after much difficulty, effected it.

But to return. After being told the course I must take, I began my journey in the night, which was dark and cloudy, through the woods. I had not travelled more than two hours, before I got lost. I concluded I had missed the road, and having reached the end of one I was then in, began to think of going back. My wound began to be very painful, and I was so sore, I could scarcely go. While I was seeking for the road again, there came up a thunder shower, and rained fast. I crawled into an old forsaken hovel, which was near, and lay till the shower was over ; then went back half a mile and found the road once more. The road

being newly opened through the woods was very bad, and it was with much difficulty I could get along, often tumbling over roots and stones, and sometimes up to my knees in mire. I once fell and was obliged to lay several minutes, before I could recover myself.

About 12 o'clock at night, as I was walking in this wilderness, I was surprised by two large wild animals, which lay close by the road, and started up as soon as they saw me; ran a few rods and turned about towards me; whether they were bears or wolves, I could not tell; I was, however, exceedingly terrified, and would have given any thing for my dog again. One of them followed me for a long time; sometimes would come close to me, and at others, kept at a considerable distance. At last he got discouraged and left me, and certainly I did not regret his absence.

At daylight, I came to open land, and discovered a house belonging to Col. Mead. I was not a little rejoiced to see his house, as I knew he would be a friend to me; but my joy was of short continuance, for as soon as I looked into the door, I saw marks of the enemy; every thing belonging to the house

being carried off or destroyed. I thought it not prudent to go into the house lest some of the enemy might be within ; so I passed on as fast as possible ; it now began to grow light ; and what to do with myself I could not tell. My friends had advised me to lay concealed in the day time and travel in the night.

When I viewed the depredations the enemy had made on the inhabitants, and many of whom had fled ; not knowing how far I must travel to find friends, and my wound being very troublesome, I reflected long, whether to tarry and be made prisoner, or push forward through a dreary wilderness ; death seemed to threaten me on all sides : however, I collected resolution sufficient to make to the east ; I conceived myself exposed by my uniform and bloody clothes ; to prevent a discovery by any who should be an enemy, I took off my shirt and put it over my coat, by which my uniform was covered ; in this line I marched ; it being the orders of the British for all Tories, who came to join them, to appear in this dress, I considered myself protected.

I travelled till the middle of the day, before

I saw any person ; I then met a man driving cattle, as I supposed, to the enemy. He examined me closely, and enquired if I was furnished with a pass. I gave him plausible answers to all his questions, and so far satisfied him as to proceed unmolested. I enquired of him, if he knew one Joshua Priest : he told me he did, and very readily directed me to the place where he lived. Leaving this man, I had not travelled far, before I met a number more, armed ; being within about fifty rods of them, I thought to hide myself, but found I could not ; I then made towards them, without any apparent fear. Coming up to them, I expected a strict examination ; but they only asked me how far it was to such a town : I informed them as well as I could, and pushed on my way.

Being within a mile and a half of said Priest's, I saw two men making towards me ; they came to a fence and stopped ; I heard them say, " Let's examine this fellow, and know what his business is." One of them asked me where I was going. I told him to Joshua Priest's ; he asked me my business there : I answered him upon no bad errand : He says you are a spy ; I told him I was

no spy. I did not like the fellow's looks, therefore dropped the conversation with him, believing he was one of the enemy. I resolved not to converse with any one, till I had arrived at Priest's, unless compelled to. Being almost overcome with fatigue, I wished for rest; however, these men seemed determined to stop me or do me some mischief, for when I walked on, they followed me upon the run, and in great rage told me, I should go no further, until I had made known to them who and what I was; saying, they had asked me a civil question, and they required a civil answer. I told them if they would go to Priest's, I would tell them all the truth and satisfy them entirely; repeating to them I was no spy. They said they did not mean to leave me till they were satisfied respecting me. I then, in short, told them what I had before in the whole, and added, that I was well acquainted with Priest, and intended to tarry with him some time.

We all arrived at Priest's, who at first did not recollect me. After some pause, he told me he was surprised to see me, as my father⁽¹³⁾ had informed him I was slain at Hubbardston. I told him, I was

yet alive : but had received a bad wound. His family soon dressed my wound and made me comfortable.

I then in the presence and hearing of my tory followers, told Priest the story of my captivity and escape : also repeated the insolent language used by the tories towards our people, when prisoners with the enemy, finding Priest my friend, I said many severe things against the tories, and fixed my countenance sternly on those fellows, who had pretended to lord it over me and stop me on the way. They bore all without saying a word, but looked as *surly as bulls*.

I soon found these tory gentry had premeditated carrying me back, and were seeking help to prosecute their design. My friend Priest loaded his gun, and said he would give them a grist, if they dared come after me : but failing of getting any persons to join them, I was not molested.

I could often hear my tory followers' threatenings against me, to take me back, saying, I should be able to fight again, and do injury to the enemy. I feared these tories would do hurt, but my fears were quieted by finding the neighbors were my

friends, and would afford me their protection. But I will write one more tory plan.

After being at Priest's about ten days, there came, one morning, a number of persons to see me, and appeared very friendly and much concerned, lest I should be taken by the enemy. They informed me a man had arrived from Burgoyne's army, and a party of Indians was to be sent forward to guard the town where I was, and protect the tories and their property; our people coming twice while I was at Priest's to take tory property. These people told me an honest story, and advised me to travel immediately. Being desirous to get home, I told my friend Priest I would not stay any longer. He says, "Don't be scared, I apprehend no danger from the Indians, tarry yet awhile, for your wound is not healed; you are not able to travel through the woods: but do as you think best." These men cried out, "Escape, escape, for your life: Indians will be upon you before to-morrow night."

Having resolved to go on, my friends furnished me with provision sufficient for my journey. Without doubts or fears I went on my way, and after

travelling all day I arrived at a place called Ludlow.⁽¹⁴⁾ From this town the people all fled and left their habitations. Great was my disappointment! I spent the night in a melancholy manner: having neither fire nor bed to comfort my shivering and impaired body.

About day, I set out from the dreary house, which had sheltered me in the night. By travelling, I found I had taken cold, and my wound was very painful. Desponding, I thought it best to go back about seven miles to some inhabitants, rather than to proceed homeward. Just before night I arrived at the place of the inhabitants, seven miles back, who received me kindly, and took special care of my wound.

Just before sunset of the third day, after my departure, I came to my old friend Priest's again, who appeared very glad to see me. Now it was not any friendship in my tory visitors, who advised me to escape, but for fear I should betray them, their reports afterwards proving a lie.

At my old friend's, I remained six weeks: in the mean time my wound was almost healed. I was hospitably entertained by him.

Having heard that one Mr. Atwell, belonging to New-Marlborough,⁽¹⁵⁾ was in the neighborhood with a team to move a family, I agreed with him for a horse to ride. After a journey of a few days, I safely arrived at New-Ipswich,⁽¹⁶⁾ and once more participated the pleasure of seeing and enjoying my friends, and *no enemy to make me afraid*.

Not long afterwards, an officer from the army hearing of my return ordered me to be arrested and returned to the main body of the American army, although my wound was scarcely healed. In a few weeks, I joined my corps, then stationed in Pennsylvania; having yet two years to serve my country in the tented field.

We afterwards went on an expedition against the Indians, to the Genesee Country, a long and tedious march, commanded by Gen. Sullivan,⁽¹⁷⁾ where we drove the savages before us, burnt their huts, destroyed their corn.⁽¹⁸⁾ The first Indian settlement we came to was called Tiauger,⁽¹⁹⁾ where they lay in ambush, in a thick wood, on a hill, where they fired on our men and killed seven; after that we were ordered to march in the following order: the army was divided into four columns,

and the head of each column had a horn or trumpet, and each of these divisions marched as far apart as they could hear each other sound: we marched in this line all the way afterward, if we had not they undoubtedly would have waylaid and killed us all. There were two men that left their place and went out from the main body and were taken by the Indians, and tortured to death in the most cruel manner. ⁽²⁰⁾

Our provision was like to fail: we had to go on half allowance a long time, or we should have starved. Finding few enemies to contend with in that quarter, as they were not disposed to meet us in the open field, we received the gladly obeyed orders to return to New-England, where we remained the ensuing autumn. Nothing more of importance, to me or the reader, occurred, until the three long years rolled away, except when in Pennsylvania, I had the honor of being acquainted with Gen. Washington ⁽²¹⁾ and Gen. Lafayette, ⁽²²⁾ and then I received my discharge.*

And now, kind reader, wishing that you may

* He received his discharge March 20, 1780.—*Ed.*

forever remain ignorant of the real sufferings of the veteran soldier, from hunger and cold, from sickness and captivity, I bid you a cordial adieu.

EBENEZER FLETCHER. (23)

New-Ipswich, Jan., 1813.





NOTES.

(1) CAPT. JAMES CARR was a resident of Somersworth, Strafford Co., N. H. He was Captain of the third company in the second of three battalions raised in New Hampshire in 1776. He eventually attained the rank of Major, and died on the eleventh day of March, 1829.

(2) The following were the officers of the company :

JAMES CARR.....of Somersworth. *Captain.*
SAMUEL CHERRY.....“ Londonderry.. *First-Lieutenant.*
PELETIAH WHITEMORE..“ New Ipswich.. *Second-Lieutenant.*
GEORGE FROST“ Greenland.... *Ensign.*

(2) COL. NATHAN HALE was born in Hampstead, Rockingham Co., N. H., on the 23d day of September, 1743. His mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Wheeler. His father, Moses Hale, was born in Rowley, Mass., in 1703, and died in Rindge, N. H., on the 19th day of June, 1762.

Col. Hale was by occupation a merchant. He came to Rindge in company with his brothers, Moses and Enoch, shortly after the first settlement of the place. On the 28th day of January, 1766, he was married to Abigail Grout, who was born in Lunenburgh, Mass., March 23d, 1745. This lady was the daughter of John Grout, who was born in Sudbury, Mass., October 14, 1704. Mr. Grout was originally a farmer, but, during the latter years of his life, followed the profession of the law. He resided in Lunenburgh a while; thence moved to Rindge, and subsequently to Jaffrey, N. H., where he died.

Col. Hale commanded the second of three battalions which were raised in New Hampshire in 1776, to serve for the period of three years. He was engaged in the battle of Hubbardton, and was taken prisoner there by the British. Immediately after the battle, reports, censuring his conduct in that engagement, were circulated, but whether they were well founded, or originated, as many have supposed, in the envy of some of his inferior officers, it is difficult now to decide. It is known that he and his men were at the time of the engagement in a feeble state of health, and were consequently unfit for military service. The historians of the day, moreover, attach no blame to his conduct; and his character, in other respects, appears to have been irreproachable. Col. Hale, it is said, on hearing of the reports, wrote to General Washington, requesting that he might be exchanged, and thus have the opportunity of vindicating his character by a court-martial, but before this could be effected, he died, while a prisoner on

Long Island, in the month of September, 1780, he being then thirty-seven years of age. He left, surviving him, his widow, four sons and two daughters, all of whom are now deceased.

Mrs. Hale was a woman of great resolution, and managed her affairs with remarkable success. She lived in Rindge for many years, and died in Chelsea, Vt., on the 14th day of September, 1838, in the ninety-fourth year of her age.

The following are the names of Col. Hale's children, and the times of their birth and death :

1. CHARLOTTE (Mrs. Lowe)..Born Dec. 30, 1766..Died May 5, 1841.
2. THOMAS..... " Sept. 6, 1769.. " Dec. 1, 1797.
3. NATHAN..... " July 1, 1771.. " Jan. 9, 1849.
4. A SON..... " July 1773.. " Same day.
5. ELIPHALET..... " May 16, 1775.. " Sept. 26, 1852.
6. POLLY..... " April 26, 1778.. " Sept. 26, 1795.
7. HARRY..... " Feb. 10, 1780.. " June 2, 1861.

(4) The following were the officers of the Second Battalion :

NATHAN HALE.....of Rindge.....*Colonel.*
 WINBORN ADAMS..... " Durham.....*Lieutenant-Col.*
 BENJAMIN TITCOMB..... " Dover.....*Major.*
 WILLIAM ELLIOT..... " Exeter.....*Adjutant.*
 JERRY FOGG..... " Kensington.....*Paymaster.*
 RICHARD BROWN..... " Unity.....*Quarter-Master.*
 WILLIAM PARKER, JR.... " Exeter.....*Surgeon.*
 PELETIAH WARREN..... " Berwick.....*Surgeon's Mate.*
 AUGUSTUS HIBBARD..... " Claremont.....*Chaplain.*

(5) TICONDEROGA—a post-town of Essex County, New-York, on the west side of the south end of Lake Champlain, and at

the north end of Lake George, twelve miles south of Crown Point, and ninety-five miles north of Albany. In 1860 the population of the town was 2,270.

Ticonderoga Fort, so famous in American history, was erected on an eminence on the north side of a peninsula of about five hundred acres, elevated upwards of one hundred feet above Lake Champlain, at the mouth of Lake George's outlet. Considerable remains of the fortifications are still to be seen. The stone walls of the fort, which are still standing, are in some places thirty feet high. The fort was built by the French in 1756, and was called by them "*Carillon*," a word signifying a jingling racket or clatter. By the Indians it was known by the Iroquois name "*Checonderoga*," signifying "sounding waters." It had all the advantages that art or nature could give it, being defended on three sides by water surrounded by rocks, and on half of the fourth by a swamp, and where that fails, the French erected a breast work nine feet high. The British and Colonial troops, under General Abercrombie, were defeated here in the year 1758, but the place was taken the year following by General Amherst. Ticonderoga was the first fortress attacked by the Americans in the Revolutionary war. It was surprised by Cols. Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, on the 10th day of May, 1775; was re-taken by General Burgoyne on the 6th day of July, 1777; and was evacuated after his surrender, the garrison returning to St. Johns.

Mount Defiance lies about a mile south of the fort, and Mount Independence is about half a mile distant, on the opposite side of the lake, in Addison County, Vermont.

(e) MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in the year 1734. He came to America with Admiral Boscawen in 1755. In 1759 and 1760 he served in Canada as a Lieutenant, under Gen. Wolfe, and after the peace of 1763, was appointed to the command of Fort Ligonier, in Pennsylvania. Here he settled, and becoming a citizen of Pennsylvania, was appointed to several offices of a civil nature. When the Revolution commenced, he embraced the cause of the Americans, and in January, 1776, was appointed to command a battalion of Pennsylvania militia. He was engaged in the expedition to Canada, and was the second in command in the proposed attack on the British post at Trois Rivières. He was soon after ordered to join the army in New Jersey, and was engaged in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. On the ninth day of August, 1776, he was appointed a Brigadier-General, and in the month of February following, was made a Major-General. He was the commanding officer at Ticonderoga when that post was invested by the British, and having a garrison of but about 2,000 men, badly equipped, and very short of ammunition and stores, he was compelled to evacuate it, which he did on the 6th day of July, 1777. Charges of cowardice, treachery and incapacity were brought against him for this step, but a court

of inquiry honorably acquitted him. In 1780 he was ordered to Rhode Island, but circumstances prevented him from going thither. When the allied armies marched towards Virginia in 1781, to attack Cornwallis, Gen. St. Clair was directed to remain at Philadelphia with the recruits of the Pennsylvania line for the protection of Congress. He was, however, soon allowed to join the army, and reached Yorktown during the siege. From Yorktown he was sent with a considerable force to join Gen. Greene, which he did near Savannah, Georgia, and at the conclusion of the war, he returned to his former residence in Pennsylvania. In 1783 he was a member of the Council of Censors of Pennsylvania, and the same year was elected President of the Cincinnati Society of that State. In 1786 he was elected a delegate to Congress, and in February, 1787, was chosen President of that body. In 1788 he was appointed Governor of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio, which office he retained until November, 1802, when he was removed by Mr. Jefferson in consequence of the too free expression of his political opinions. In 1791 he commanded an army employed against the Miami Indians, and was defeated on the 4th of November, with the loss of between six hundred to seven hundred men. On this occasion a portion of the citizens were loud in their censures of his conduct; but a committee of the House of Representatives, appointed to examine into the cause of the failure of the expedition, upon hearing his defense, honorably exculpated him from blame. In the following year he resigned his

commission as Major-General, and in his old age, being reduced to poverty, and embarrassed by debts, he applied to Congress for relief, but his claims on the sympathy of his country were listened to with indifference, and admitted with reluctance. In the year 1817, after a great suspense, he obtained a pension of sixty dollars a month, which he did not, however, live long to enjoy. He died at Laurel Hill, near Phil., on the 31st day of August, 1818, at the age of eighty-four years. His remains were interred in the Presbyterian church-yard in Greensburg, Westmoreland Co., Pa., and in 1832 the Masonic fraternity placed a neat monument over his grave.

(7) "Although every possible exertion had been made by Gen. St. Clair and his men, the state of the American works and of the garrison was not such as to insure a long and vigorous defence. The old French fort had been strengthened by some additional works, several block-houses had been erected, and some new batteries had been constructed on the side towards Lake George. The Americans had also fortified a high circular hill on the east side of the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, to which they had given the name of Mount Independence. These two posts were connected by a floating-bridge twelve feet wide and one thousand feet long, which was supported by twenty-two sunken piers of large timber. This bridge was to have been defended by a boom strongly fastened together by bolts and chains; but this boom was not completed when Gen. Burgoyne advanced against the works.

“Notwithstanding the apparent strength of the posts occupied by the Americans, their works were all effectually overlooked and commanded by a neighboring eminence called Sugar Loaf Hill, or Mount Defiance. This circumstance was well known to the American officers, and they had a consultation for the express purpose of considering the propriety of fortifying this mountain; but it was declined, because they believed the British would not think it practicable to plant cannon upon it, and because their works were already so extensive, that they could not be properly manned, the whole garrison consisting of only 2,546 continental troops, and 900 militia; the latter very badly armed and equipped.

“Gen. St. Clair was sensible that he could not sustain a regular siege; still he hoped that the confidence of Burgoyne would induce him to attempt to carry the American works by assault, against which he was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But to the surprise and consternation of the Americans, on the 5th of July. the enemy appeared upon Mount Defiance, and immediately commenced the construction of a battery. This battery, when completed, would effectually command all the American works on both sides of the lake, and the line of communication between them; and, as there was no prospect of being able to dislodge the enemy from this post, a council of war was called, by which it was unanimously agreed that a retreat should be attempted that very night, as the only means of saving the army.

“Accordingly, about two o’clock in the morning of the 6th of July, Gen. St. Clair, with the garrison, left Ticonderoga, and at about three o’clock the troops on Mount Independence were put in motion. The baggage, provisions and stores were, as far as practicable, embarked on board 200 batteaux, and despatched, under convoy of five armed galleys, to Skenesborough, while the main body of the army proceeded by land on the route through Hubbardton and Castleton. These affairs were conducted with secrecy and silence, and unobserved by the enemy, till a French officer, imprudently and contrary to orders, set fire to his house. The flames immediately illuminated the whole of Mount Independence, and revealed to the enemy at once the movements and designs of the Americans. It at the same time impressed the Americans with such an idea of discovery and danger, as to throw them into the utmost disorder and confusion.

“About four o’clock, the rear-guard of the Americans left Mount Independence, and were brought off by Col. Francis in good order; and the regiments which had preceded him, were soon recovered from their confusion. When the troops arrived at Hubbardton, they were halted for nearly two hours. Here the rear-guard was put under the command of Col. Seth Warner, with orders to follow the army, as soon as those, who had been left behind, came up, and to halt about a mile and a half in the rear of the main body. St. Clair then proceeded to Castleton, about six miles further, leaving Warner, with the rear-guard and stragglers, at Hubbardton.”

* * * * *

"The retreat from Ticonderoga was very disastrous to the Americans. Their cannon, amounting to 128 pieces,—their shipping and batteaux, and their provisions, stores and magazines, fell into the hands of the enemy. By this event, Burgoyne obtained no less than 1,748 barrels of flour, and more than 70 tons of salt provisions; and, in addition to these, a large drove of cattle, which had arrived in the American camp a few days previous to their retreat, fell into his hands."

Thompson's Vermont, Part 2, pp. 41-43.

See also

Williams' Hist. Vermont, Vol. 2. pp. 101-109.

(s) "The retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga was no sooner perceived by the British than an eager pursuit was begun by General Fraser with the light troops, who was soon followed by General Riedesel with the greater part of the Brunswick regiments. Fraser continued the pursuit during the day, and having learned that the rear of the American army was not far off, ordered his men to lie that night upon their arms. Early on the morning of the 7th he renewed the pursuit, and about 7 o'clock, commenced an attack upon the Americans under Warner. Warner's force consisted of his own regiment, and the regiments of Cols. Francis and Hale. Hale, fearful of the result, retired with his regiment, leaving Warner and Francis, with only seven or eight hundred men, to dispute the progress of the enemy.

"The conflict was fierce and bloody. Francis fell at the head of his regiment, fighting with great resolution and

bravery. Warner, well supported by his officers and men, charged the enemy with such impetuosity that they were thrown into disorder, and at first gave way. They, however, soon recovered, formed anew, and advanced upon the Americans, who, in their turn, fell back. At this critical moment, a re-enforcement under Gen. Riedesel arrived, which was immediately led into action, and the fortune of the day was soon decided. The Americans, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, fled from the field in every direction.

“The loss of the Americans in this encounter was very considerable. Hale was overtaken by a party of the British, and surrendered himself, and a number of his men, prisoners of war. The whole American loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was 324, of whom about 30 were killed. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, was 183.

“Gen. St. Clair, with the main body of the American army, was at Castleton, only six miles distant, during this engagement, but sent no assistance to Warner. After the battle, Warner, with his usual perseverance and intrepidity, collected his scattered troops and conducted them safely to Fort Edward, to which place St. Clair had retired with the army. While Gen. Fraser and Riedesel were pursuing the Americans by land, General Burgoyne himself conducted the pursuit by water. The boom and bridge between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence not being completed, were soon cut through, and by nine o'clock in the morning of the

6th the British frigates and gun-boats had passed the works. Several regiments were immediately embarked on board the boats, and the chase commenced. By three in the afternoon the foremost boats overtook and attacked the American gallies near Skenesborough, (now Whitehall,) and upon the approach of the frigates, the Americans abandoned their gallies, blew up three of them, and escaped to the shore. The other two fell into the hands of the British.

“As the American force was not sufficient to make an effectual stand at Skenesborough, they set fire to the works, mills and batteaux, and retreated up Wood Creek to Fort Ann. Being pursued by the ninth British regiment under Colonel Hill, the Americans turned upon him and gave him battle with such a spirit as to cause him to retire to the top of a hill, where he would have been soon overpowered, had not a re-enforcement come at that critical moment to his assistance. The Americans, upon this, relinquished the attack, and having set fire to Fort Ann, retreated to Fort Edward and joined the main army under Schuyler.”

* * * * *

“After St. Clair had joined Gen. Schuyler at Fort Edward, and all the scattered troops had come in, the whole American force at that place did not exceed 4,400 men. Sensible that, with this force, it would be impossible to make an effectual stand, it became the chief object of the American generals to impede as much as possible the progress of the enemy by cutting down trees, blocking up the roads, and destroying the bridges.

"The works at Fort Edward being in no condition to afford protection to the American army, Gen. Schuyler abandoned them on the 22d of July, and retired with his whole force to Moses Creek, a position on the Hudson, about four miles below Fort Edward. At this place the hills approach very near the river on both sides, and this was selected as a favorable position to make a stand and dispute the progress of the enemy. But the army was found to be so much reduced by defeat and desertion, and the dissatisfaction to the American cause was found to be so general in this section of the country, that it was judged best to retire to Saratoga, and subsequently to Stillwater, at which place the army arrived on the 1st day of August."

Thompson's Vermont, Part 2, pp. 42, 43.

See also

Williams' Hist. Vermont, Vol. 2, pp. 105-107.

Gordon's American War, Vol. 2, pp. 453, 484.

Allen's American Rev., Vol. 2, pp. 31-33.

Thacher's Journal, Ed. of 1827, pp. 83-86.

Stone's Hist. of Beverly, pp. 73-79.

Trial of Gen. St. Clair.

The following account we take from one of the newspapers of the day :

"*July 17.*—By an express from the northward we learn that the American forces, under the command of General St. Clair, abandoned Fort Ticonderoga and the adjoining lines, on the morning of the 6th instant, and are now encamped in the vicinity of Moses Creek. A letter from an officer at that place, written this day, gives the following account of the retreat and its consequences:—The retreat from Ticonderoga

will be a matter of speculation in the country, and the accounts different and confused, a true state of facts will therefore be very satisfactory without doubt.

“We were deceived with respect to the strength of the enemy, and our own reinforcements. The enemy have practised a piece of finesse which has too well answered their purpose; they have so conducted that all hands in the United States believed they had drawn their force from Canada to the southward, and designed only to garrison their posts in the northern world; the consequence of this belief has been the ordering eight regiments, destined for Ticonderoga and its environs, to Peekskill, and little attention has been paid to this department. The enemy's condition in Canada has been represented as miserable, confused, scattered and sickly; this has been the general opinion in camp and country, and our situation has been thought perfectly safe.

“Our force consisted of about four thousand, including the corps of artillery, and artificers who were not armed, a considerable part of which were militia; we could bring about three thousand fit for duty into the field. General Burgoyne came against us with about eight thousand healthy, spirited troops, with a lake force consisting of three fifty-gun ships, a thunder mounting eighteen brass twenty-four pounders, two thirteen-inch mortars, a number of howitz, several sloops, gun-boats, &c., &c.

“Their strength being so very superior to ours, obliged us to tamely sit still and see them erect batteries all around us,

without hazarding a sally. Two batteries were erected in front of our lines, on higher ground than ours; within half a mile on our left they had taken post on a very high hill overlooking all our works; our right would have been commanded by their shipping and the batteries they had erected on the other side of the lake. Our lines at Ticonderoga would have been of no service, and we must have inevitably abandoned them in a few days after their batteries opened, which would have been the next morning; we then should have been necessitated to retire to Fort Independence, the consequence of which, I conceive, would have been much worse than the mode adopted; for the moment we had left Ticonderoga fort, they could send their shipping by us, and prevent our communication with Skenesborough; then the only avenue to and from Fort Independence would have been by a narrow neck of land leading from the mount to the Grants. To this neck they had almost cut a road; a day more would have completed it. A few troops stationed at Ticonderoga, would have prevented our communication with Lake George, as our own works would have been against us. Their shipping would have destroyed our connection with Skenesborough, and their main body might have been placed on this neck of land, which, by a few works, might have prevented all supplies and reinforcements; we might have stayed at the mount as long as our provisions would have supported us; we had flour for thirty days, and meat sufficient only for a week. Under these circumstances General St. Clair, on the sixth

instant, called a council of war, and an evacuation was unanimously agreed upon as the only means of saving the army from captivity.

“It was necessary also that our retreat should be precipitate, as the communication was almost cut off, and they would soon be apprised of our designs. It was therefore determined to send the baggage and sick in boats to Skenesborough, and for the army to march by land from the mount to that place, being forty miles. At the dawn of day we left Fort Independence, and I cannot say the march was conducted with the greatest regularity; the front, which was the main body, marched thirty miles to a place called Castleton, about twelve miles from Skenesborough; the militia halted three miles in the rear of the front, and the rear guard, commanded by Colonel Francis, being joined by Colonels Warner and Hale, halted at Hubbardton, about a mile and a half in the rear of the militia. As the march was severe, the feeble of the army had fallen in the rear, and tarried at Hubbardton with the rear-guard. This body in rear might consist of near a thousand men. Before I proceed further, it may be necessary to give you the enemy’s dispositions after they were advised of our retreat: A large body, at least two thousand, were detached to pursue our main body and harass our rear; all the gun-boats and some of their shipping were sent after our baggage, came up with it at Skenesborough and took it. The ninth regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hills, was ordered to run down South Bay, and land

and march on a by-road to Fort Ann, and take that before our troops could reach it; the remainder of the army went on to Skenesborough, except a garrison at Ticonderoga.

“The body of the enemy sent to harass our rear, came up with it the next morning at Hubbardton, which was then commanded by Colonel Warner; by the exertions of the officers, our little army formed and gave them battle, which continued about twenty-five minutes very severe, when our party were overpowered with numbers and gave way. The loss on both sides was considerable; as our people took to the woods and are daily coming in, it is impossible to ascertain our loss. Colonel Francis, a worthy, brave officer, after signaling himself, was shot through, and expired instantly; Colonel Hale is missing. It is natural to ask, why was not Colonel Warner reinforced? Let me tell you; orders were sent to Colonel —, who commanded the militia, to go to the assistance of the rear-guard, but before they arrived, the action was over and our people dispersed. Our main body being now twelve miles from Skenesborough, and hearing that a large body of the enemy were arrived there, and knowing that a large body were in our rear, the general imagined if we pursued our route, that we must engage both in front and rear under great disadvantage; and to pursue his plan in first retreating, which was to save the army, he thought prudent to file off to the left, and before we reached Hudson River, we marched one hundred and fifty miles; in this march we picked up about thirty prisoners, part British, part Wal-

deckers, and part Canadians. The party of our men who were at Skenesborough, retreated to Fort Ann; they were twice attacked by the ninth regiment, and both times repulsed them. They took a Captain Montgomery and a doctor, and would probably have taken the whole regiment had their ammunition held out. This is a candid statement of facts, and for this conduct we are told our country calls us either knaves or cowards; I conceive they ought to be grateful to our general, for had we stayed, we very certainly should have been taken, and then no troops could have stood between the enemy and the country. Our affairs now are not desperate in this quarter, as they would certainly have been; we have destroyed Fort George and its appendages, and shall soon be able, I hope, to make head against our enemies, as we are gathering strength and re-collecting ourselves."

Pennsylvania Evening Post, August 9th, 1777.

(9) OTTER CREEK, called by the French *la Rivière aux Loutres*, the River of Otters, is the longest stream of water in Vermont. It rises in Bennington Co., in the W. N. W. part of the State, and flowing in a N. N. W. course through Rutland Co., falls into Lake Champlain in Addison Co. In its course it receives about fifteen small tributary streams. Otter Creek, above Middlebury, is a very still stream, and its waters deep, affording very few mill privileges. From Middlebury to Pittsford, a distance of twenty-five miles, it is navigable for boats. At Middlebury, Weybridge, and Vergennes, there are

falls in the creek which afford excellent sites for mills, and on which are some of the finest manufacturing establishments in the State. From Vergennes to the mouth, a distance of eight miles, the creek is navigable for the largest vessels on the lake. The whole length of the creek is about ninety miles, and it waters about nine hundred square miles.

(10) The HESSIANS were soldiers hired by Great Britain of some of the petty rulers of Germany, but from the circumstance of the greater number being derived from the principality of Hessen Cassel, they obtained the technical name by which they are now known, and which in course of time has become a term for mercenary troops generally. They were bought for a stipulated sum paid on account of each man on enlistment in the British army, while additional amounts became payable in the event of certain contingencies, such as wounds and death. The following table exhibits the quota obtained from the respective rulers, as well as the amount received by each :

<i>Prince.</i>	<i>Number of men furnished.</i>	<i>Number lost.</i>	<i>Amounts received.</i>
BRUNSWICK.....	5,723	3,015	£780,000
HESSEN CASSEL.....	16,992	6,500	2,600,000
HESSEN HANAU.....	2,422	981	335,150
ANSPACH.....	1,644	461	305,400
WALDECK.....	1,225	720	122,670
ANHALT.....	1,160	176	535,500
Total.....	29,166	11,853	4,678,620
HANOVER received.....			448,000
Total amount received.....			£ 5,126,620

Many of the troops were temporary sojourners in the principalities, and were secured by kidnapping, a mode which was practiced to a great extent. As this device relieved the citizens of Cassel from the evils of compulsory military service, it met with little or no opposition from them, and every traveler, therefore, had to depend chiefly on himself for safety. The necessary consequence of such a mode of recruiting was a great number of desertions, and to such an extent did these prevail, that from the regiment of Anhalt alone, one hundred and forty men deserted in one day, and on the next, their example was followed by an officer and fifty men. The Hessians arrived in America in 1776, and were first employed against the Americans in the battle of Long Island. They were subsequently engaged at Trenton, Princeton, Saratoga, and elsewhere. They were generally fine, hearty-looking men; wore large knapsacks on their backs, and spatter-dashes on their legs. A member of one of these regiments, says Dunlap, (*Hist. Amer. Theatre, Am. Ed.*, p. 45,) "with his towering brass-fronted cap, mustacios coloured with the same material that coloured his shoes, his hair plastered with tallow and flour, and tightly drawn into a long appendage reaching from the back of the head to his waist, his blue uniform almost covered by the broad belts sustaining his cartouch-box, his brass-hilted sword, and his bayonet; a yellow waistcoat with flaps, and yellow breeches were met at the knee by black gaiters, and thus heavily equipped, he stood an automaton, and received the command

or cane of the officer who inspected him." The cavalry were mounted on gay ponies, much decorated with leather trappings. The accoutrements of themselves and their horses were heavy in the extreme. At the termination of the war, many of the Hessians settled down in America, and some of them became good and enterprising farmers and citizens.

(11) HUBBARDTON, a township in Rutland Co., Vermont, fifty miles N. of Bennington, and forty-six miles S. S. W. of Montpelier. It derived its name from Thomas Hubbard, who was a large proprietor. The settlement was commenced in the spring of 1774 by Uriah Hickok and William Trowbridge, who came with their families from Norfolk, Conn. Elizabeth, daughter of Mrs. Hickok, was born August 1st, 1774, and died in September, 1776. This was the first birth and the first death in the town. The first barn was built in 1785, and the first house in 1787. The first settlers of the town suffered very severely from the Indians and Tories. There were but nine families in the town when the American army, under Gen. St. Clair, evacuated Ticonderoga, July 6, 1777. In 1810 the population was 642, and in 1860 it numbered 606.

(12) WHITE HALL, formerly called Skenesborough, a post-village in Washington Co., N. Y., was organized in 1788. It is beautifully situated in White Hall township, at the head of the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, and on the Saratoga and Washington Railroad, seventy-seven miles N. by

E. of Albany. The Champlain canal terminates here, connecting the village with Troy. "The Indian name of the town was '*Kah-cho-quah-na*,' the place where dip-fish." It was formerly called Skenesborough from Maj. Philip Skene, a royalist who resided here previous to the Revolution. The pass at this place was seized by a detachment of volunteers from Connecticut in May, 1775. Major Skene and his family, with a number of soldiers, and several small pieces of cannon, were taken. When Ticonderoga was abandoned on the approach of Gen. Burgoyne, the public stores were embarked on board of two hundred batteaux, and sent up the lake to Skenesborough, under a convoy of five galleys. They were pursued by a British brigade of gun-boats, and overtaken at Skenesborough. Two of the galleys were taken, and the other three blown up. The Americans being unable to make an efficient stand, set fire to the works, fort, mills, batteaux, and escaped as they could to Fort Ann. Skenesborough was occupied by Burgoyne as his head-quarters for a considerable time, while his troops were clearing a road to Fort Edward. On the heights, overlooking the harbor, are the remains of a battery and block house. The town carries on an extensive trade with Canada. In 1860 the population of the township was 4,862; of the village, 4,000.

(13) JOHN FLETCHER, the father of our author, was born in Concord, Mass., and came to New Ipswich in 1758. He was a cooper by trade. He was killed in New Ipswich in 1763,

by the falling of a tree. The family were led to the spot through the strange conduct of their cat. The maiden name of John Fletcher's wife was Elizabeth Foster. She was the daughter of Abijah Foster, a farmer by occupation, and one of the first settlers of New Ipswich. This lady was the first female born in the place. She was born in the year 1741, was married to John Fletcher in 1759, and died in the year 1800.

(14) LUDLOW, a post village and township in Windsor Co., Vt., on a tributary of the Connecticut river, and on the Rutland and Burlington Railroad, about sixty-one miles S. of Montpelier. In 1784-5, Josiah and Jesse Fletcher, Simeon Reed, and James Whitney, all from Massachusetts, moved to within the limits of the town, and began their clearings upon the alluvial flats bordering upon Black River. Ludlow has churches of three denominations, and considerable manufactories of cassimeres, machinery and combs. The population in 1860 was 1,568.

(15) NEW MARLBOROUGH, a post township in Berkshire Co., Mass., about 130 miles W. by S. of Boston. The first improvements in the town were made in 1739 by Benjamin Wheeler, who came from Marlborough. During the severe winter of 1739-40, he remained the only white inhabitant in the town. The Indians, though in most respects friendly, forbade him the use of his gun, lest he should kill the

deer, and thus withheld from him part of the means of his support. His nearest white neighbors were in Sheffield, ten miles distant. Some of these people came on snow-shoes to see him. In the town is a rock, judged to weigh thirty or forty tons, so equally balanced on another rock, that a man can move it with his finger. The population of the township in 1860 was 1,782.

(16) NEW-IPSWICH, a post-town in Hillsborough Co., N. H., on the west side of Souhegan river, upon the southern line of the State. It is distant fifty miles S. W. from Concord, and eighteen miles S. W. from Amherst. It was settled before 1749, by Reuben Kidder and others, and was incorporated Sept. 9th, 1762. The principal village is in the centre of the town, in a pleasant and fertile valley. Many of the dwelling-houses are of brick, and are elegant in appearance. The village contains a bank, a number of factories, and several cotton mills, the first of which was put in operation in 1803. The New-Ipswich Academy was incorporated June 18, 1789, has a fund of £1,000, and generally about forty or fifty students. New-Ipswich has produced many men, who have become eminent as patriots, merchants, and men of science. There were sixty-five men from this town in the battle of Bunker Hill. The population of the town in 1860 was 1,701.

(17) MAJOR-GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN was of Irish descent, and was born in Berwick, in the State of Maine, on the 17th day

of February, 1740. In his youth he worked upon a farm, but after arriving at maturity he studied law and established himself in practice in Durham, New Hampshire. His energy and industry soon rendered him a prominent man, and he was chosen a delegate to the first Congress. After his retirement from that body, he, with John Langdon, the Speaker of the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire, commanded a small force that seized Fort William and Mary, at Portsmouth, and carried off the cannon and powder. The next year he was again chosen a delegate to Congress, but being appointed by that body one of the eight brigadier-generals, in the new army, he soon proceeded to head-quarters at Cambridge. In the following year he was made a Major-General, and superseded Arnold in the command of the American army in Canada, but was soon driven out of that province. When Gen. Greene became ill on Long Island, Sullivan took command of his division, and in the battle of Brooklyn he was taken prisoner by the enemy. He was subsequently exchanged, and took command of Gen. Lee's division in New Jersey after the capture of that officer. In the autumn of 1777 he was engaged in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and in the winter following took command of the troops on Rhode Island. In August, 1778, he besieged Newport, then in the hands of the British, with the fullest confidence of success, but being abandoned by the French fleet under D'Estaing, who sailed to Boston, he was obliged to raise the siege. On the 29th an action took place with the

pursuing enemy, who were repulsed with loss. On the following day, with much military skill, he passed over to the continent without the loss of baggage or life, and without the slightest suspicion on the part of the British of his movements. In the year 1779 he commanded an expedition against the Six Nations, and soon after his return, he resigned his commission. He was afterwards a member of Congress, and in 1786 became President of New Hampshire, which office he held for three years. While in this position he rendered important service in quelling the spirit of insurrection which exhibited itself at the time of the troubles in Massachusetts. In 1789 he was appointed District Judge of New Hampshire, a situation which he held at the time of his death. Gen. Sullivan was a man of short stature, but well formed and active. His complexion was dark, his nose prominent, his eyes black and piercing, and his face altogether agreeable. He was fond of display, but his deportment was dignified, commanding respect. He died in Durham, N. H., on the 23d day of January, 1795, in the 55th year of his age.

(13) The atrocities committed by the hostile Indians of the Six Nations, at Wyoming, Pa., and at several settlements in New York, determined Congress, in 1779, to send an army into the country inhabited by the savages, to retort upon them their own system of warfare. The force employed consisted of about five thousand men, and the command of the same was given to Gen. John Sullivan. The following is a particular account of the expedition :

“They were to make the attack by three different routes, by the way of the Susquehanna, the Mohawk and the Ohio

rivers, while Washington, by a feint of entering Canada, should induce the British Governor-General to keep his forces at home. This plan was so far changed in its execution as to divide the whole force into two parts only; the main body under Sullivan and the other under James Clinton, the Governor's brother. Sullivan reached Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, on the 21st July, having delayed his march, by waiting the result of extravagant demands which he continued to make for men, provisions, and equipments, and which Congress were not disposed to grant. The number of his troops, by the return of the 22d of July, amounted to no more than 2,312, rank and file, for the service of which, the Quarter-Master-General had supplied him with 1,400 horses. This force was more than three times greater than any probable number which the hostile Indians could bring against him, as the whole number of their warriors did not exceed 550, and to these were joined about 250 Tories, the whole headed by Johnson, Butler and Brandt: yet Sullivan still demanded, and waited for more men. On the 21st of August, he was joined by General Clinton with 1,600 men, who had passed by the way of the Mohawk, without meeting opposition. It seemed to be the infatuated determination of General Sullivan to do everything in this expedition, which could blast the laurels he had hitherto won. He lived, during the march, in every species of extravagance, was constantly complaining to Congress that he was not half supplied, and daily amused himself in unwarrantable remarks to his young

officers respecting the imbecility of Congress and the board of war.

“The hostile Indians and tories before mentioned, to the number of about 800, were posted at Newtown, where they had constructed works of considerable strength, and where they had been long expecting the approach of Sullivan. At length, on the 29th of August, the General arrived. He had with him six light field pieces and two howitzers, and as if determined that his march should be no secret, a morning and evening gun were regularly fired during his whole route. He seemed to consider the enemy as already in his power, and made the most absurd boast of his intentions with regard to them. The assault was commenced by firing his light field pieces against their works, while a detachment under General Poor were ordered to march a mile and a half around the mountain, in full view of the enemy, for the purpose of attacking them on their left flank. Thus put on their guard, they waited the approach of General Poor, and would probably have given him battle; but his firing being the signal of other movements by Sullivan, they suddenly abandoned their works, and took to flight. Nothing could have been more mortifying to General Sullivan than this escape of what he had deemed a certain prize. He remained in the fort until the 31st, and then marched for Catharine’s Town on the Seneca Lake. His road lay through the most dangerous defiles, and a swamp of considerable extent, through which a deep creek flowed in so meandering a course, that it was

necessary to ford it seven or eight times. He arrived at the entrance of this swamp late in the afternoon, and was strongly advised not to venture into it until the next morning; but he persisted, and a miracle only prevented his obstinacy from bringing destruction upon his men. Some of the defiles through which he had to pass, were so narrow and dangerous that a score or two of Indians might have successfully disputed the passage against any number of men. The night was exceedingly dark, the men wearied, scattered and broken, and ready to die rather than move on; but the Indian scouts who had been sent to watch them, having retired as soon as it was dark, under the full persuasion that no General in his senses would attempt such a road by night, the defiles were fortunately unguarded, and the General arrived with his wearied army about midnight at the town. Clinton had halted at the entrance of the swamp, and pursued his march the next day.

“Sullivan continued for more than a month in the Indian country, laying waste and destroying everything, after the manner of his savage enemy, and completing the destruction of his fame. He arrived about the middle of October at Easton, in Pennsylvania, having in the course of his expedition killed *eleven* Indians and destroyed eighteen or twenty towns! Of the 1,400 horses which he had taken with him, 300 only were brought back. His childish and absurd complaints had disgusted the Commander-in-Chief, as well as the board of war, and the ridiculous vanity displayed in his official account

of the expedition, rendered him the jest of the whole army. He was not long able to bear this downfall of his pride and consequence, and on the 9th of November, he solicited permission to resign, which Congress readily accorded."

Allen's Amer. Rev., Vol. 2, pp. 276-279.

See also

Gordon's Amer. War, Vol. 3, pp. 307-312.

The following extract gives some interesting particulars respecting the condition of the Indian settlements :

"Many settlements in the form of towns were destroyed, besides detached habitations. All their fields of corn, and whatever was in a state of cultivation, underwent the same fate. Scarce anything in the form of a house was left standing, nor was an Indian to be seen. To the surprise of the Americans, they found the lands about the Indian towns well cultivated, and their houses both large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. Orchards in which were several hundred fruit trees were cut down, and many of them appeared to have been planted for a long series of years. Their gardens, which were enriched with great quantities of useful vegetables of different kinds, were laid waste. The Americans were so full of resentment against the Indians, for the many outrages they had suffered from them, and so bent on making the expedition decisive, that the officers and soldiers cheerfully agreed to remain till they had fully completed the destruction of the settlement. The supplies obtained in the country, lessened the inconvenience of short

rations. The ears of corn were so remarkably large, that many of them measured twenty-two inches in length. Necessity suggested a novel expedient for pulverising the grains thereof. The soldiers perforated a few of their camp kettles with bayonets. The protrusions occasioned thereby formed a rough surface, and by rubbing the ears of corn thereon, a coarse meal was produced, which was easily converted into agreeable nourishment."

Ramsay's Amer. Rev., Vol. 2, pp. 191-192.

See also

Campbell's Tryon Co., pp. 149-166

Life of Van Campen, pp. 134-179.

Goodwin's Cortland Co., pp. 51-67.

Simms' Schoharie Co. p. 295.

Stone's Life of Brandt. Vol. 2, pp. 1-41.

(19) TIOGA POINT, in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, at the confluence of the Tioga and Susquehanna rivers, in the northern part of the State, is noted in the annals of Indian warfare as the site of an ancient Indian town, and as a place of rendezvous for parties or armies passing up or down the two great streams. The "Castle" of the celebrated Catharine Mōntour, sometimes called Queen Esther, was located here. The village of Athens now occupies the place of Gen. Sullivan's encampment.

(20) On the evening of Sept. 12th, 1779, while the army of Gen. Sullivan was encamped near an Indian town, on what is now known as Henderson Flats, a party of about twenty-one men, under command of Lieut. Thomas Boyd, was detached from the rifle corps, and sent out

to reconnoitre the ground near the Genesee river, at a place now called Williamsburgh, about seven miles distant from the place of encampment. On their return to the main army, they were attacked by an overwhelming body of savages and Tories, and Boyd and a man named Parker were taken prisoners, and subsequently put to death, the former in the most horrible manner, after having his nails pulled out, his nose and tongue cut off, and one of his eyes plucked out. The remainder of the party were all killed, with the exception of one Timothy Murphy, who succeeded in making his escape. Shortly after this occurrence, the bodies of Boyd and his slaughtered companions were recovered by the army, and interred at a place now known as Groveland. Their remains lay here until the year 1841, when they were removed to Rochester and deposited in the cemetery at Mount Hope, with appropriate civil and military honors, and in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators. The following is a particular account of the engagement of Lieut. Boyd and his party with the Indians, and of the cruelties subsequently practiced upon him:

“When the party arrived at Williamsburgh, they found that the Indians had very recently left the place, as the fires in their huts were still burning. The night was so far spent when they got to the place of their destination, that the gallant Boyd, considering the fatigue of his men, concluded to remain quietly where he was, near the village, sleeping upon their arms, till the next morning, and then to despatch two messengers with a report to the camp. Accordingly, a little before daybreak, he sent two men to the main body of the army, with information that the enemy had not been discovered, but were supposed to be not far distant, from the fires they found burning the evening before.

“After day-light, Lieut. Boyd and his men cautiously crept from the place of their concealment, and upon getting a view of the village, discovered two Indians lurking about the

settlement; one of whom was immediately shot and scalped by one of the riflemen, by the name of Murphy. Lieut. Boyd—supposing now that if there were Indians near they would be aroused by the report of the rifle, and possibly by a perception of what had just taken place, the scalping of the Indian—thought it most prudent to retire and make his best way back to the main army. They accordingly set out, and retraced the steps they had taken the evening before.

“On their arriving within about one mile and a half of the main army, they were surprised by the sudden appearance of a body of Indians, to the amount of five hundred, under the command of Brandt, and the same number of rangers, commanded by the infamous Butler, who had secreted themselves in a ravine of considerable extent, which lay across the track that Lieut. Boyd had pursued. These two leaders of the enemy had not lost sight of the American army since their appalling defeat at the Narrows above Newtown, though they had not shown themselves till now. With what dismay they must have witnessed the destruction of their towns and the fruits of their fields, that marked the progress of our army! They dare not, however, any more come in contact with the main army, whatever should be the consequence of their forbearance.

“Lieut. Boyd and his little heroic party, upon discovering the enemy, knowing that the only chance for their escape would be by breaking through their lines, an enterprise of most desperate undertaking, made the bold attempt. As

extraordinary as it may seem, the first onset, though unsuccessful, was made without the loss of a man on the part of the heroic band, though several of the enemy were killed. Two attempts more were made, which were equally unsuccessful, and in which the whole party fell, except Lieut. Boyd and eight others. Boyd, and a soldier by the name of Parker, were taken prisoners on the spot; a part of the remainder fled, and a part fell on the ground apparently dead, and were overlooked by the Indians, who were too much engaged in pursuing the fugitives to notice those who fell.

“ When Lieut. Boyd found himself a prisoner, he solicited an interview with Brandt, preferring, it seems, to throw himself upon the clemency and fidelity of the savage leader of the enemy, rather than trust to his civilized colleague. The chief, who was at that moment near, immediately presented himself, when Lieut. Boyd, by one of those appeals and tokens which are known only by those who have been initiated and instructed in certain mysteries, and which never fail to bring succor to a distressed brother, addressed him as the only source from which he could expect respite from cruel punishment or death. The appeal was recognized, and Brandt immediately, and in the strongest language, assured him that his life should be spared.

“ Boyd and his fellow-prisoner were conducted immediately by a party of the Indians to the Indian village, called Beards-town, after a distinguished chief of that name, on the west side of the Genesee river, and in what is now called Leicester.

After their arrival at Beardstown, Brandt, being called on service which required a few hours' absence, left them in the care of Col. Butler. The latter, as soon as Brandt had left them, commenced an interrogation, to obtain from the prisoners a statement of the number, situation and intentions of the army under Sullivan; and threatened them, in case they hesitated or prevaricated in their answers, to deliver them up immediately to be massacred by the Indians; who, in Brandt's absence, and with the encouragement of their more savage commander, Butler, were ready to commit the greatest cruelties. Relying probably upon the promises which Brandt had made them, and which he most likely intended to fulfill, they refused to give Butler the desired information. Upon this refusal, burning with revenge, Butler hastened to put his threat into execution. He delivered them to some of their most ferocious enemies, among which the Indian chief Little Beard was distinguished for his inventive ferocity. In this, that was about to take place, as well as in all the other scenes of cruelty that were perpetrated in his town, Little Beard was master of ceremonies. The stoutest heart quails under the apprehension of immediate and certain torture and death; where, too, there is not an eye that pities, nor a heart that feels. The suffering Lieut. was first stripped of his clothing, and then tied to a sapling, when the Indians menaced his life by throwing their tomahawks at the tree directly over his head, brandishing their scalping knives around him in the most frightful manner, and accompanying

their ceremonies with terrific shouts of joy. Having punished him sufficiently in this way, they made a small opening in his abdomen, took out an intestine, which they tied to a sapling, and then unbound him from the tree, and by scourges, drove him around it till he had drawn out the whole of his intestines. He was then beheaded, and his head was stuck upon a pole, with a dog's head just above it, and his body left unburied upon the ground.

"Thus perished Thomas Boyd, a young officer of heroic virtue, and of rising talents; and in a manner that will touch the sympathies of all who read the story of his death. His fellow-soldier, and fellow-sufferer, Parker, was obliged to witness this moving and tragical scene, and in full expectation of passing the same ordeal.

"According, however, to our information, in relation to the death of these two men, which has been obtained incidentally from the Indian account of it, corroborated by the discovery of the two bodies by the American army, Parker was only beheaded."

Wilkinson's Annals of Binghampton, pp. 34-38. †

See also

Stone's Life of Brandt, Vol. 2, pp. 29-33.

Life of Jemison, pp. 121-122 and p. 291.

Simms' Schoharie Co., pp. 312-13.

Life of Van Campen, pp. 160-173.

Notices of Sullivan's Campaign.

The following additional facts respecting Lieut. Boyd were obtained from Josias E. Vrooman, who witnessed the parting scene therein described:

"Lieut. Boyd was a native of Northumberland County,

Pennsylvania. He was about the usual height, and was a stout built, fine looking young man; being very sociable and agreeable in his manners, which had gained him many friends in Schoharie. While there, he paid his addresses to Miss Cornelia, a daughter of Bartholomew Becker, who gave birth to a daughter after his death, of which he was the reputed father. This child, named Catharine, grew up a very respectable woman, and afterwards became the wife of Martinus Vrooman. While the troops under Col. Butler were preparing to leave Schoharie, Miss Becker, in a state of mind bordering on phrensy, approached her lover, caught hold of his arm, and in tears besought him by the most earnest entreaties, to marry her before he left Schoharie. He endeavored to put her off with future promises, and to free himself from her grasp. She told him "if he went off without marrying her, *she hoped he would be cut to pieces by the Indians.*" In the midst of this unpleasant scene, Col. Butler rode up and reprimanded Boyd for his delay, as the troops were ready to march—and the latter, mortified at being seen by his commander, thus importuned by a girl, *drew his sword and threatened to stab her if she did not instantly leave him.* She did leave him, and anticipating future shame, called down the vengeance of heaven upon him. Her imprecation was answered, as has been seen, to the fullest extent: a fearful warning to those who trifle with woman's affections."

Simms' Hist. of Schoharie Co., p. 300.

(21) The following extract, from an English writer, gives one of the best descriptions which we have met with, of the personal appearance and character of the "Father of his country":

* * * * *

"General Washington is now in the forty-eighth year of his age. He is a tall, well-made man, rather large boned, and has a tolerably genteel address, his features are manly and bold, his eyes of a bluish cast, and very lively; his hair a deep brown, his face rather long, and marked with the small-pox; his complexion sun-burnt, and without much color, and his countenance sensible, composed, and thoughtful. There is a remarkable air of dignity about him, with a striking degree of gracefulness; he has an excellent understanding, without much quickness; is strictly just, vigilant, and generous; an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a father to the deserving soldier, gentle in his manners, in temper rather reserved; a total stranger to religious prejudices, which have so often excited Christians of one denomination to cut the throats of those of another. In his morals he is irreproachable, and was never known to exceed the bounds of the most rigid temperance. In a word, all his friends and acquaintances universally allow, that no man ever united in his own character a more perfect alliance of the virtues of the philosopher with the talents of a general. Candor, sincerity, affability, and simplicity, seem to be the striking features of his character, until an occasion offers of displaying the most determined bravery and independence of spirit."

* * * * *

London Chronicle, July 22, 1780.

(22) GILBERT MOTTIER, MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE, was born in Chavaniac, in the ancient province of Auvergne, in France, Sept. 6, 1757. He was descended from distinguished ancestors, and was the inheritor of a princely fortune. He was educated at Paris, and at the age of 17 married the Countess Anastasie de Noailles, by whom he received a large accession to his estate. In the year 1777, the most gloomy period of the American struggle, this young nobleman, then only 19 years of age, actuated by a love of liberty as pure as it was ardent, left the luxuries of the court, and the endearments of his young wife, and in opposition to the wishes of his friends and the orders of his sovereign, embarked for America, in a vessel fitted out by himself, to aid a people to whom he was bound by no tie of tongue or kindred, and who were then too poor to offer him even a transport to their shores. Upon his arrival in America, he offered himself to Congress as a volunteer, solicited permission to serve without pay, and raised and equipped a body of men at his own expense. In July he was appointed by Congress a Major-General, and in September he served as a volunteer at the battle of Brandywine, in which engagement he was severely wounded. After his recovery he joined Gen. Greene in New Jersey, and in the battle of Monmouth, in 1778, he rendered most important services, for which he received the thanks of Congress. He continued actively employed in different parts of the country until 1779, when he went to France, and after securing aid from that quarter, returned to America. He immediately resumed his

command, and in the campaigns of 1780 and 1781, displayed the most consummate generalship. At the siege of Yorktown he shared in the dangers and honors of the day, and after the capitulation of Cornwallis, left again for France. He was about to return to America with a powerful fleet and army, when he received the glorious news of the overtures of peace. In 1784 he visited America, and after spending a few days at Mount Vernon, traveled through the principal cities of the Union, receiving everywhere the honors that were his due. After his return to France, he held a number of prominent positions, both civil and military. In the year 1824, he again visited America, where he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and affection. Congress made him a grant of 200,000 dollars and a township of land, and he was carried home in the frigate *Brandywine*, so named in honor of his bravery in that memorable battle. After his return to France he again engaged in public affairs, taking an active part in the revolution of 1830, at which time he became marshal of France.

“Gen. Lafayette was about six feet in stature. He was considered one of the finest looking men in the American army, notwithstanding his deep red hair, which then, as now, was rather in disrepute. His forehead was fine though receding—his eye clear hazel—his mouth and chin delicately formed and exhibiting beauty rather than strength. The expression of his countenance was strongly indicative of the generous and gallant spirit which animated him, mingled with

something of the pride of conscious manliness. His mien was noble—his manners frank and amiable, and his movements light and graceful. He wore his hair plain, and never complied so far with the fashion of the times as to wear powder.”

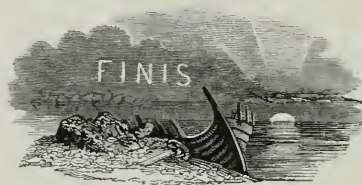
After a long and eventful career, this devoted friend of Washington and America died at Paris, on the 20th day of May, 1834, in the 77th year of his age. Admired and honored in life, he died universally lamented, leaving behind him a name which the proudest monarch may envy and the most ambitious warrior well emulate—that of a disinterested, noble minded and consistent patriot. Dearly beloved as he was, his memory will ever be fresh in the heart of every true friend to his country.

(23) Ebenezer Fletcher, as we have before remarked, was married in the year 1786 to Miss Polly Cummings. The father of this lady, Mr. Samuel Cummings, was at that time a resident of New Ipswich, and owner of the mills at Mill Village. He carried on the mills successfully for a number of years, and then sold them out to Mr. Fletcher, who had learned the trade of him. Mr. Cummings subsequently moved to Cornish, N. H., and died there on the sixth day of June, 1796, at the age of seventy-eight years. Mr. Fletcher, by his first wife, who died on the 26th day of February, 1812, had six sons and six daughters, whose names and places of birth and death are as follows :

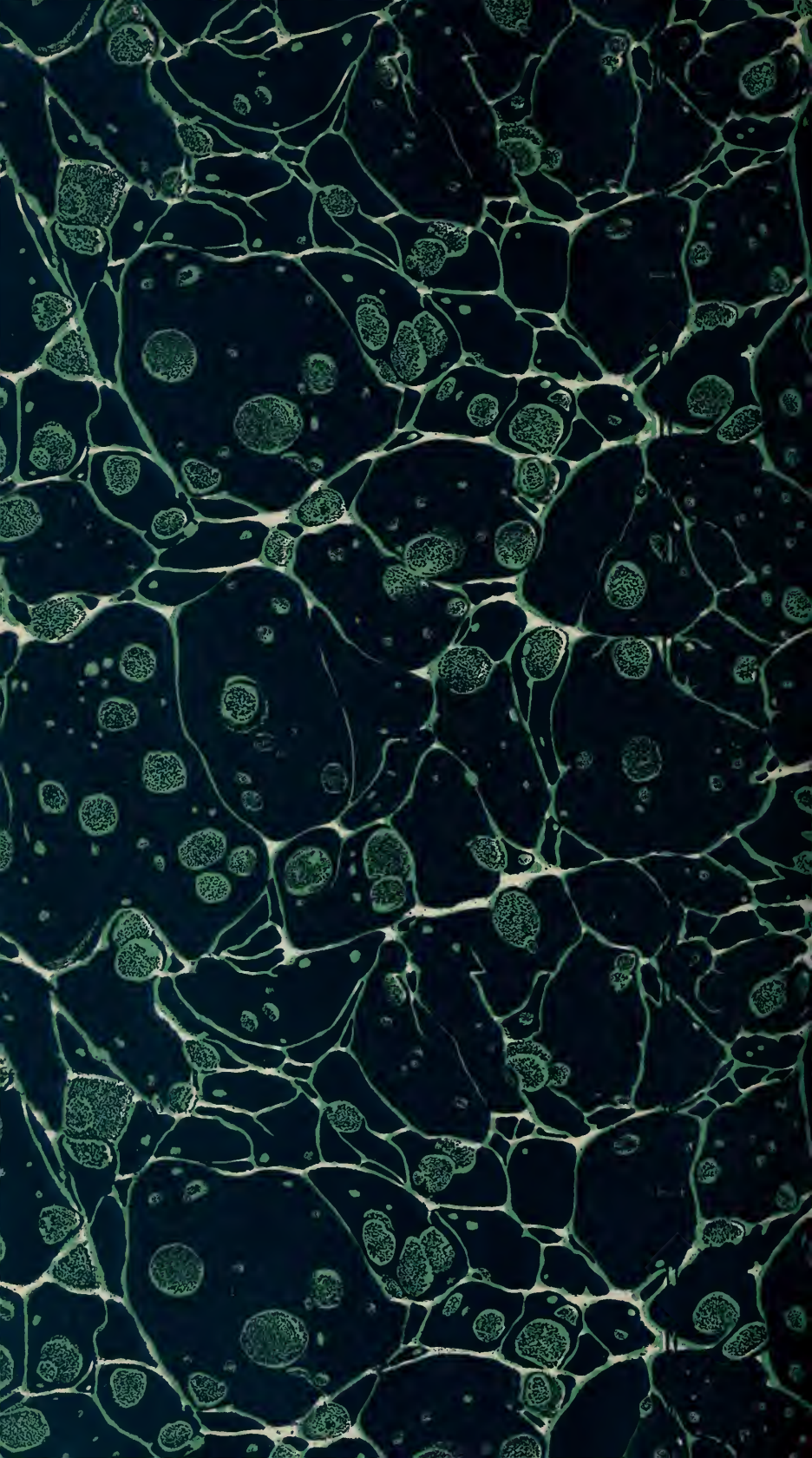
Born in New Ipswich, N.H. Died.

- 1st. EBENEZER, Jr. .Oct. 9, 1782..Nov. 14, 1834, in Corinth, N. H.
 2d. CUMMINGS July 5, 1784..July 22, 1837, " Enosburg, Vt.
 3d. JOHN Aug. 14, 1786..July 10, 1842, " Ann Arbor, Mich.
 4th. POLLY Aug. 21, 1788..Aug. 27, 1840, " Illinois.
 5th. JOSEPH May 22, 1790..Feb. 18, 1863, " Ashburnham, Mass.
 6th. BETSEY Dec. 28, 1792..May 5, 1842, " Boston, Mass.
 7th. SALLY } *Twins.*Feb. 6, 1794 { July 17, 1854, " New Ipswich, N.H.
 8th. MILLY } " 11, 1794, " " "
 9th. NANCY May 22, 1797...Still living " " "
 10th. DEXTER Ap'l 19, 1799 ... " " " Mt. Vernon, "
 11th. SUKY May 30, 1801..Aug. 13, 1803, " New Ipswich, "
 12th. ROBY June 16, 1803...Still living " " "

Mr. Fletcher's second wife was Mrs. Mary Foster, widow of Nathaniel Foster, and daughter of Asa Rendall. She had no children by Mr. Fletcher. By her first husband she had two sons and five daughters. She was a member of the Baptist church for many years, and sustained a good Christian character. She survived her husband, Mr. Fletcher, a number of years, and died in Winchendon, Mass., January 25th, 1851, at the age of 85 years.







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